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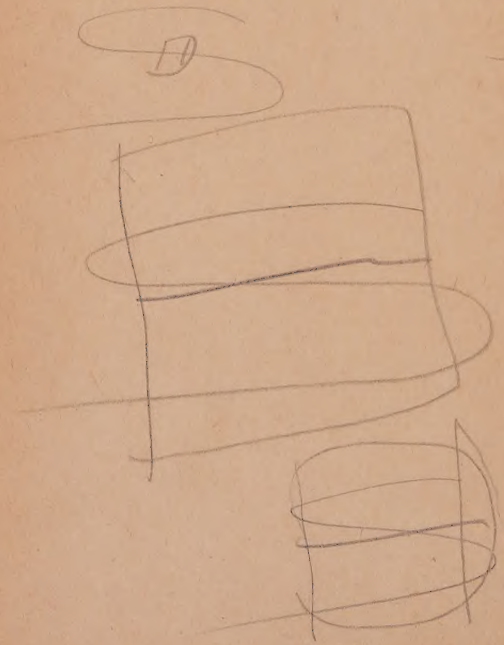

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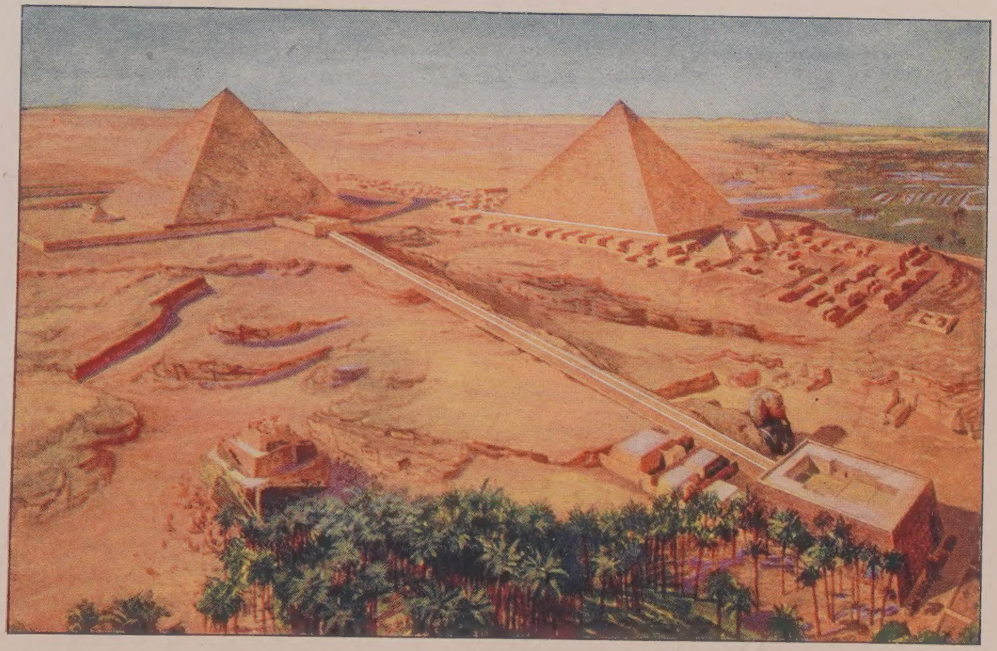

RESTORATION OF THE GREAT PYRAMIDS AND OTHER TOMB MONUMENTS IN THE ANCIENT CEMETERY OF GIZEH, EGYPT. (AFTER HOELSCHER)

These royal tombs (pyramids) belonged to the leading kings of the early part of the Pyramid Age (about 3000 to 2500 B.C.). The Great Pyramid, the tomb of King Khufu (Greek *Cheops*), is on the right (see p. 27, Pyramid No. 8). Next in size is that of King Khafre (Greek *Chephren*) on the left. On the east side (front) of each pyramid is a temple (see also Fig. 21), where the dead king received food, drink, and clothing for the life hereafter. These temples, like the pyramids, were built on the desert plateau above, while the royal town was in the valley below on the right. For convenience, therefore, the temple was connected with the town below by a covered gallery, or causeway, of stone. This causeway may be seen descending in a straight line from the pyramid and temple of King Khafre, and terminating below, just beside the Sphinx, in a large oblong building of stone, called a valley-temple, to distinguish it from the pyramid temple on the plateau above. It was a splendid structure of granite, serving not only as a temple but also as the entrance to the causeway from the royal city. This valley-temple was adorned with magnificent statues of the king, a number of which were discovered at the bottom of a well in the valley-temple, where they had at some time been hurled by enemies. They now adorn the great Museum at Cairo; the head of the finest of them may be seen in Fig. 22. Here beside his valley-temple we see another great statue of King Khafre, which he had carved as a colossal portrait of himself, with the body of a lion. It is commonly called the Great Sphinx. It is the largest portrait figure ever executed; the head is sixty-five feet high; the body is about one hundred and eighty-seven feet long, and the face is about fourteen feet across. The pyramids are surrounded by the tombs of the queens and the great lords of the age (see Fig. 14). At the lower left-hand corner is an unfinished pyramid, showing the inclined ascents up which the stone blocks were dragged. These ascents (called ramps) were built of sun-baked brick and are therefore darker in color than the white limestone of the pyramid against which they were built. They were taken down and removed after the pyramid was finished. These pyramid cemeteries mark for us the coming of earliest civilization after a long struggle with barbarism (see Fig. 12). They show us many of the most important things that made up civilization in the beginning, like the art of stone masonry, architecture with the earliest columns and colonnades (Fig. 21), art (especially sculpture, Fig. 22), the earliest seagoing ships (Fig. 13), the incoming use of metal, and great progress in industries (Figs. 16–19). Besides these visible things, early civilization also included some things *not visible*, like the great government controlling all the people who did these wonderful things and, especially, also belief in right living, in kindness to others, and that a good life here was the best way to gain happiness in the next world

There royal tombs (pyramids) belonged to the leading kings of the early part of the Pyramid Age (about 3500 to 2500 B.C.). The Great Pyramid, the tomb of King Khufu (Greek Cheops), is on the right here in the Pyramid Necropolis at Giza. Khufu's pyramid (Egyptian Khufu-khet) on the left on the east side (front) of the pyramid is a temple (see Fig. 1-3), where the dead king received food, drink, and clothing for the life hereafter. These temples, like the pyramids, were built on the desert plateau above, while the road down the valley leading to a second gallery or causeway from the temple to the temple was connected with the town. Below ground and inside of King Khufu's pyramid may be seen clearly in a large oblong hall. It was a splendid structure and beautifully finished in fine limestone. The pyramid temple in the valley, called a valley temple, is not only as a tomb but also as the entrance to the causeway from the royal city. This valley temple was adorned with magnificent statues of the king, a number of which were discovered. They were found as well in the valley-temple where they had at some time been buried by sand. The two statues of Chefren at Giza; the head of the buried of them may be seen in Fig. 21. Chefren's portrait is the same person as see another great statue of King Khafre which the Greek carved as a colossal portrait of himself with the body of a lion. It is commonly called the Great Sphinx. It is the largest piece ever executed. The head is sculptured face likely, the body is about one hundred and eighty-seven feet long, and the face is about fourteen feet across. The Sphinx made was surrounded by the temple of the queens, and the great lords of the age (see Fig. 14). At the lower left-hand corner is an immense pyramid, showing the inclined passages up which the stones were dragged. These passages led to an inclined temple were built and are described in even more the white limestone of the pyramid against which they were built. They were taken down and removed after the pyramid was finished. These pyramid complexes must for on the course of centuries with a long struggle with Bedouin tent. Fig. 13). They show as many of the most important things that made up civilization in the beginning, like the art of stone masonry, architecture with the earliest columns and colonnades (Fig. 27), art (especially sculpture, Fig. 29), the earliest ships (Fig. 13), the beginning of metal and of metal-things, and writing. Fig. 10-30). Besides these visible things, early civilization also included some invisible things like the great gift of government generally, all the people who did these wonderful things and even religion, also belief in the next world having in it holiness to others and that a good life here was the highest way to gain happiness in the next world

SURVEY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

BY

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PREFACE

This book offers in briefer form a sketch of the same periods which are more fully treated in the author's *Ancient Times*. The same relative distribution of material and the same methods of treatment and presentation found in the larger volume are followed in this smaller book.

The full and elaborate scheme of illustration in *Ancient Times* has necessarily been somewhat reduced; but the teacher will find the illustrations herein intimately interwoven with the text by full cross references, which unify text and illustrations. The cross references are usually by paragraphs (§). A number of references to illustrations contained only in *Ancient Times* have been inserted, and it will be fully worth the teacher's time to look these up and use them for discussion in the class.

It is believed that various types of schools, but especially technical, vocational, and other high schools, which, in the nature of the course of study offered, are unable to devote a large proportion of time to history, will find their needs successfully met by this briefer treatment of the ancient world.

The acknowledgments to the author's colleagues and friends in the preface of the larger volume are equally in place here, especially that to his friend Professor James Harvey Robinson.

J. H. B.

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SURVEY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

BOOK I. EARLIEST MAN

CHAPTER I

EARLIEST MAN IN EUROPE

Section 1. Earliest Man's Ignorance and Progress

We all know that our fathers and mothers never saw an aëroplane when they were children, and very few of them had ever seen an automobile. Their fathers lived during most of their lives without electric lights or telephones in their houses. Their grandfathers, our great-grandfathers, were obliged to make all long journeys in stagecoaches drawn by horses, and some of them died without ever having seen a locomotive. One after another, as they have been invented, such things have come and continue to come into the lives of men.

1. Man's gradual invention and acquirement of the possessions of life

Each device grew out of earlier inventions, and each would have been impossible without the inventions which came in before it. Thus, if we went back far enough, we should reach a point where no one could build a stagecoach or a wagon, because no one had invented a wheel or tamed a wild horse. Earlier still there were no ships and no travel or commerce by sea. There were no metal tools, for no one had ever seen any metal. Without metal tools for cutting the stone there could be no fine architecture in stone masonry. It was impossible to write, for no one had invented writing, and so there were no books nor any knowledge of science. At the same time there were no schools or hospitals or churches, and no laws or government. This book

2. Ancient history a story of similar achievements followed by national rivalries

is intended to tell the story of how mankind gained all these and many other things, and thus built up great nations which struggled among themselves for leadership, then weakened and fell. The earlier part of this story forms what we call ancient history.

3. Man began with nothing and with no one to teach him

If we go back far enough in the story of man, we reach a time when he possessed nothing whatever but his bare hands with which to protect himself, satisfy his hunger, and meet all his other needs. He must have been without speech and unable even to build a fire. There was no one to teach him anything. The earliest men who began in this situation had to learn everything for themselves by slow experience and long effort, and every tool, however simple, had to be invented.

4. Man's earliest inventions

We cannot now trace all the different stages in his earliest progress; but this earliest progress brought to man two things without which he could have made no progress: the ability to speak and the means of kindling a fire (see *Ancient Times*, Fig. 1). After this he gained a third invention of the greatest assistance to him. He sometimes found a broken stone and used its ragged edge to aid him in hacking off his meat or shaping his wooden club. He then found that he could improve the form of such a stone, and thus he gradually learned to shape a rude stone tool or weapon (*Ancient Times*, Fig. 2). At this point he entered what we now call the Stone Age, more than fifty thousand years ago.

5. Career of early man traceable in surviving stone implements and other works of his hands

From this point on we can hold in our hands the very stone tools and implements with which early men maintained themselves in their long struggle to survive. By studying the stone implements which they left behind them we can follow them and tell just how far they had advanced in the successive stages of their upward career; for these stages are revealed to us by their increasing skill in working stone and in other industries which they gradually learned. We can distinguish, in the examples of their handiwork which still survive, three successive ages, which we may call the Early Stone Age, the Middle Stone Age, and the Late Stone Age. Let us now observe man's progress through these three ages, one after the other.

Section 2. The Early Stone Age

European savages began the Early Stone Age over fifty thousand years ago. In order to secure their food they followed the life of hunters, roaming about in the great forests which covered much of western Europe. In that distant age Europe possessed a tropical climate, and tropical animals filled its forests. Huge beasts like the hippopotamus wallowed along the banks of the rivers in the region which is now France and England. The fierce rhinoceros, with a horn three feet long, charged through the jungles. As the hunter fled before them, he caught glimpses of gigantic elephants plunging through the thick tropical growth. At night he had no hut or shelter in which he might take refuge. He slept on the ground wherever he happened to be overtaken by darkness in the course of his hunt. There as he was awakened by the roar of the mighty saber-tooth tiger, he must often have been fallen upon and devoured.

6. The life of Early Stone Age men

The struggle to protect himself from such animals and to kill others for food led the hunter to improve his first rough stone weapons and tools. He finally succeeded in producing

Fig. 1. A Flint Fist-Hatchet of the Early Stone Age

Rough flint flakes older than the fist-hatchet still survive to show us man's earliest efforts at shaping stone. But the fist-hatchet is the earliest well-finished type of tool produced by man. The original is about nine inches long, and the drawing reduces it to less than one third. Either end might be used as the cutting edge, but it was usually grasped in the fist by the narrower part, and never had any handle. Handles of wood or horn do not appear until much later (cf. Fig. 7, *4*, *5*). Traces of use and wear are sometimes found on such fist-hatchets

7. Earliest flint weapons and their preservation

what we now call a *fist-hatchet* (Fig. 1). It was a roughly shaped piece of flint, with a ragged edge sharp enough to use for cutting and chopping. Sometimes such stone weapons were lost, or as the hunter was killed by some great animal the fist-hatchet fell from his hand. In the course of thousands of years such lost flint tools and weapons were very numerous. Then, especially on river shores, they were gradually covered by sand, gravel, and soil which has gathered since they were lost. Thus buried they are found to-day in large numbers along the rivers of England, Belgium, and France, especially in the valley of the river Somme. Along with them are often found the bones of the huge tropical animals we have mentioned, which long ago disappeared in Europe.

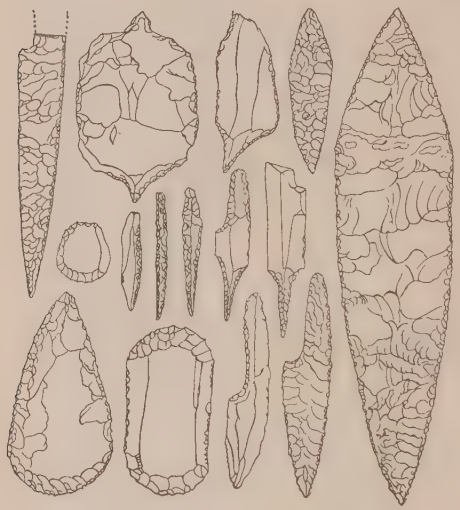


FIG. 2. FLINT TOOLS AND WEAPONS OF THE MIDDLE STONE AGE

From right to left they include knives, spear- and arrow-points, scrapers, drills, and various edged tools. They show great skill and precision in flaking. The fine edges have all been produced by chipping off a line of flakes along the margin, seen especially in the long piece at the right. This chipping is done by *pressure*. The brittleness of flint is such that if a hard piece of bone is pressed firmly against a flint edge, a flake of flint, often reaching far back from the edge, will snap off in response to increasing pressure. This was a great improvement over the earliest method by striking, or *percussion* (see Fig. 1, and *Ancient Times*, Fig. 2)

For thousands of years the life of the hunter went on with little change. He slowly improved his rough stone fist-hatchet, and he probably learned to make additional implements of wood, but of these last we know nothing. Then he began to notice that the air of his forest home was losing its tropical warmth. Geologists have not yet found out why, but as the centuries passed, the ice, which all the year round still overlies the region of the North Pole and the summits of the Alps, began to descend. The northern ice crept further and further southward until it covered England as far south as the Thames. The glaciers of the Alps pushed down the Rhone valley as far as the spot where the city of Lyons now stands. On our own continent of North America the southern edge of the ice is marked by lines of bowlders carried and left there by the ice. Such lines of bowlders are found, for example, as far south as Long Island and westward along the valleys of the Ohio and the Missouri.[1] The hunter saw the glittering blue masses of ice with their crown of snow, pushing through the green of his forest abode and crushing down vast trees in many a sheltered glen or favorite hunting ground. Gradually these savage men of early Europe were forced to accustom themselves to a colder climate, and many of the animals familiar to the hunter retreated to the warmer south, never to return.

8. The coming of the ice

Section 3. The Middle Stone Age

The hunters were unable to build themselves shelters from the cold. They therefore took refuge in the limestone caves, where they and their descendants continued to live for thousands of years. This period we call the Middle Stone Age.

9. Remains of Middle Stone Age man in caverns

[1] Geologists have now shown that the ice advanced southward and retreated to the north again no less than four times. Following each advance of the ice a warm interval caused its retreat. There were four warm intervals, and we are now living in the fourth. The evidence now indicates that men began to make stone implements in the third warm interval. The last advance of the ice therefore took place between us and them. It is perhaps some thirty thousand years ago that the ice began to come south for the last time. See map and diagram in *Ancient Times*, p. 8.

Century after century the sand and earth continued to blow into such caverns, and fragments of rock fell from the ceiling. Thus masses of rubbish accumulated on the cavern floor, and in one case it was as much as forty feet deep. To-day we find among all this rubbish also many layers of ashes and charcoal from the cave dwellers' fire (see *Ancient Times*, Fig. 9), besides numerous tools, weapons, and implements which he used. These things disclose man's further progress, step by step, and show us that he had now left the old fist-hatchet far behind and become a real craftsman.

10. The industries of Middle Stone Age man

FIG. 3. IVORY NEEDLE OF THE MIDDLE STONE AGE

Such needles are found still surviving in the rubbish in the French caverns, where the wives of the prehistoric hunters lost them and failed to find them again twenty thousand years ago. They show that these women were already sewing together the skins of wild animals as clothing

The tiny flint chips still found at the door of his cave show us how the hunter must have sat there carefully chipping the edges of his flint tools. By this time he had a considerable list of tools from which he could select. At his elbow were knives, chisels, drills and hammers, polishers and scrapers, all of flint (Fig. 2). He could now produce such a fine cutting edge by chipping (see *Ancient Times*, § 15) that he could work ivory, bone, and especially reindeer horn. With his enlarged list of tools he was able to shape pins, needles, spoons, and ladles, all of ivory or bone, and carve them with pictures of the animals he hunted in the forest (Fig. 4). The fine ivory needles (Fig. 3) show that the hunter's body was now protected from cold by clothing sewed together out of the skins of the animals he had slain. He also fashioned keen barbed ivory spear points which he mounted, each on a long wooden shaft. He had also discovered the bow and arrow, and he carried at his girdle a sharp flint dagger.

These Middle Stone Age hunters could not only draw (Fig. 4) but they could also paint with the greatest skill. In the caverns of southern France and northern Spain their paintings

11. Middle Stone Age art

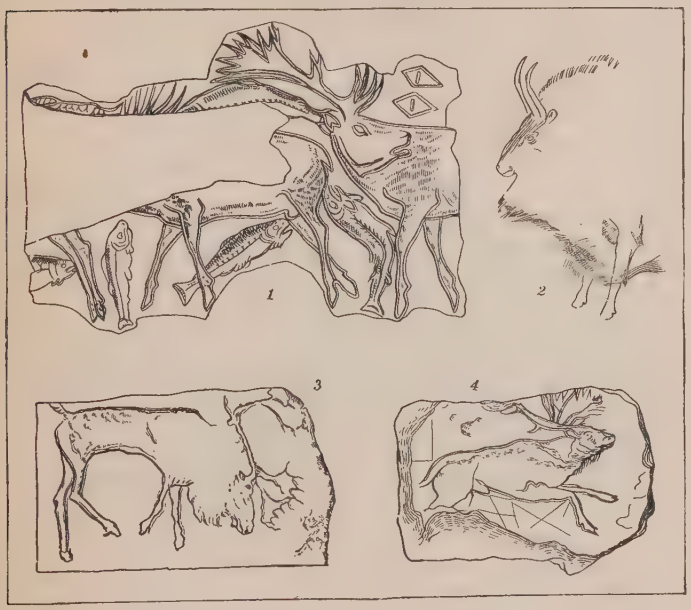


FIG. 4. DRAWINGS CARVED BY MIDDLE STONE AGE MAN ON IVORY

1, marching line of reindeer with salmon in the spaces — probably a talisman to bring the hunter and fisherman good luck; *2*, a bison bull at bay (not on ivory but incised in the rock of a cavern wall; over one hundred and fifty caverns containing such paintings and carvings are known in France and Spain); *3*, a grazing reindeer; *4*, a running reindeer. These carvings are the oldest works of art by man, made fifteen or twenty thousand years ago. The work was done with the pointed and edged tools of flint shown in Fig. 2. See *Ancient Times*, Figs. 9, 10

have been found in surprising numbers in recent years. Long lines of bison, deer, or wild horses cover the walls and ceilings of these caves. Sometimes they are only carved on the rock

wall (Fig. 4, *2*); but many are painted in colors. They are all startling in their lifelikeness and vigor. These paintings, together with the carvings on the hunter's ivory and bone weapons (Fig. 4, *1*, *3*, *4*), form the earliest art in the whole career of man, in so far as we know.

Section 4. The Late Stone Age

12. Last retreat of the ice and coming of the Late Stone Age

At length the climate again grew warmer and became what it is to-day. The traces left by the ice would lead us to think that it withdrew northward for the last time probably some ten thousand years ago. Men of a different race from those of the Early and Middle Stone Ages had meantime invaded western Europe. These men had learned that it was possible to *grind* the edge of a stone ax or chisel (Fig. 7, *4*) as we now do with tools of metal. They were also able to drill a hole in the stone ax head and insert a handle (Fig. 7, *5*). The common use of the *ground* stone ax, after the retreat of the ice, brings in the Late Stone Age. Traces of the villages and settlements of Late Stone Age man have been found throughout all Europe, except in the extreme north. Let us now see what the objects found in such settlements tell us about the life of man in the Late Stone Age.

13. Important points in the progress of Late Stone Age man

The life of Late Stone Age man gradually made progress in a number of very important matters. *First*, with their *ground* stone axes, hatchets, and chisels (Fig. 7) men could now build *wooden huts*. These wooden dwellings of the Late Stone Age (Fig. 5) are the earliest such shelters found in Europe. Sunken fragments of these houses are found all along the shores of the Swiss lakes, lying at the bottom, among the piles which supported the houses of the village (Fig. 6). *Second*, such tools also enabled the lake-dwellers to make a great deal of *wooden furniture*. Pieces of stools, chests, carved dippers, spoons, and the like, all of wood, show that these houses were equipped with all ordinary wooden furniture. *Third*, the householder

had also learned that clay will harden in the fire, and he was making handy jars, bowls, and dishes of *burned clay* (Fig. 7). Although roughly made without the use of the potter's wheel and unevenly burned without an oven, they added much to the equipment of his dwelling. *Fourth*, the lake-dweller had

FIG. 5. RESTORATION OF A SWISS LAKE-DWELLERS' SETTLEMENT

The lake-dwellers felled trees with their stone axes (Fig. 7, *5*) and cut them into piles some twenty feet long, sharpened at the lower end. These they drove several feet into the bottom of the lake, in water eight or ten feet deep. On a platform supported by these piles they then built their houses. The platform was connected with the shore by a bridge, which may be seen here on the right. A section of it could be removed at night for protection. The fish nets seen drying at the rail, the "dug-out" boat of the hunters who bring in the deer, and many other things have been found on the lake bottom in recent times

somewhere gained knowledge of *flax*. Before his door the women sat spinning flaxen yarn, and the rough skin clothing of his ancestors had given way to garments of woven stuff. *Fifth*, the lake-dwellers had already received one of the greatest possessions gained by man in his slow advance toward civilization.

This was the food grains which we call *cereals*, especially wheat and barley. The seeds of the wild grasses, which their ancestors once gathered, these Late Stone Age men had learned to cultivate. Thus wild grain was domesticated, and *agriculture* was introduced. *Sixth*, these Late Stone Age men possessed *domestic cattle*. On the green uplands above were now pasturing the creatures which the Middle Stone Age

FIG. 6. SURVIVING REMAINS OF A SWISS LAKE-VILLAGE

After an unusually dry season the Swiss lakes fell to a very low level in 1854, exposing the lake bottom with the remains of the piles which once supported the lake-villages along the shores. They were thus discovered for the first time. On the old lake bottom, among the projecting piles, were found great quantities of implements, tools, and furniture, like those in Fig. 7, including the dug-outs and nets of Fig. 5, wheat, barley, bones of domestic animals, woven flax, etc. (see § 13). There they had been lying some five thousand years. Sometimes the objects were found in two distinct layers, the lower (earlier) containing only *stone* tools, and the upper (later) containing *bronze* tools, which came into the lake-village at a later age (§ 192), and fell into the water on top of the layer containing old stone tools already lying on the bottom of the lake

man once pursued through the wilds (*Ancient Times*, Fig. 12). For the mountain sheep and goats and the wild cattle had now learned to dwell near man and submit to his control. Indeed, the wild ox bowed his neck to the yoke and drew the plow across the forest-girt field where he had once wandered in unhampered freedom. Fragments of wooden wheels in the lake-villages show that he was also drawing the wheeled cart, the earliest in Europe.

Wooden houses, agriculture, and the possession of domestic animals resulted in a more settled and less roaming life. Communities were formed. Groups of massive tombs still surviving, **14. Earliest communities organized**

FIG. 7. PART OF THE EQUIPMENT OF A LATE STONE AGE LAKE-DWELLER SEEN IN FIG. 5

This group contains the evidence for three important inventions made or received by the men of the Late Stone Age: *first*, pottery jars, like *2* and *3*, with rude decorations, the oldest baked clay in Europe, and *1*, a large kettle in which the lake-dwellers' food was cooked; *second*, ground-edged tools like *4*, stone chisel with ground edge (§ 12), mounted in a deerhorn handle like a hatchet, or *5*, stone ax with a ground edge, and pierced with a hole for the ax handle (the houses of Fig. 5 were built with such tools); and *third*, weaving, as shown by *6*, a spinning "whorl" of baked clay, the earliest spinning wheel. When suspended by a rough thread of flax eighteen to twenty inches long, it was given a whirl which made it spin in the air like a top, thus rapidly twisting the thread by which it was hanging. The thread when sufficiently twisted was wound up, and another length of eighteen or twenty inches was drawn out from the unspun flax to be similarly twisted. One of these earliest spinning wheels has been found in the Swiss lakes with a spool of flaxen thread still attached. (From photograph loaned by Professor Hoernes)

built of enormous blocks of stone (Fig. 8), requiring the united efforts of large numbers of men, show us the beginnings of community enterprises. The driving of fifty thousand piles for

the lake-village at Wangen shows that men were learning to work together in such communities. On the other hand, a flint arrowhead found still sticking in the eyehole of a skull or in a human backbone (*Ancient Times*, Fig. 19) reminds us that these communities were sometimes at war with one another.

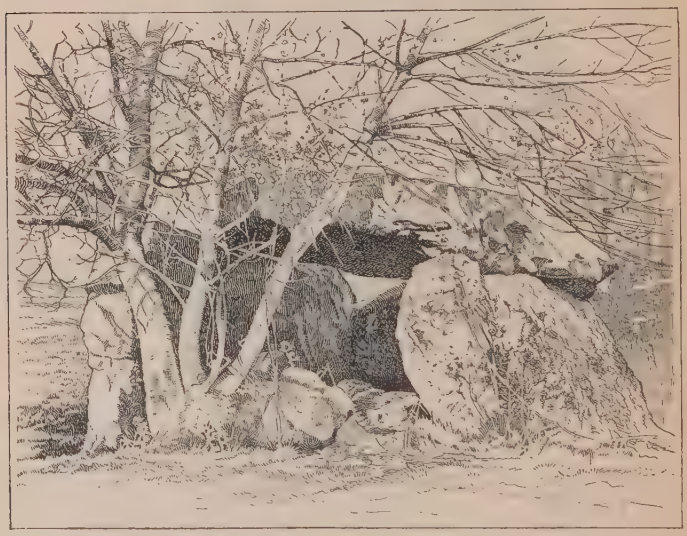


FIG. 8. LATE STONE AGE TOMB IN FRANCE

These tombs are found in great numbers, especially along the Atlantic coast of Europe (but also in north Africa) from Gibraltar to the Norse peninsulas, where they still stand by thousands. One Danish island alone contains thirty-four hundred of them. It was in such a tomb that a dead chief of the Late Stone Age was buried. The stones, weighing even as much as forty tons apiece, were sometimes dragged by his people many miles from the nearest quarry

15. Commerce and industry

Friendly intercourse between these communities was also known. The amber from the north and the wide distribution of a certain kind of flint found in only one mine of France tell us of the beginnings of commerce between the prehistoric communities of Europe. Such mines suggest to us the industries

of this remote age. A mine opened by archæologists in England still contained eighty much-worn picks of deerhorn used by the flint miners; while in Belgium a fall of rock from the ceiling covered and preserved to us even the body of one of these ancient miners (see *Ancient Times*, Fig. 22).

16. Summary of European man's progress down to about 3000 B.C.

Let us now look back for a moment and see how much early man had gained in over fifty thousand years of slow progress. Before his first stone weapon he had learned to speak, then to kindle fire, and after that came his earliest efforts to work stone. For ages afterward (*Early Stone Age*) his progress consisted chiefly of improvements in his stone weapon, the fist-hatchet, as he gradually passed from chipping its edge by *blows* to the production of a much finer edge by *pressure* (*Middle Stone Age*; see Fig. 2, descriptive matter). Then after the ice came down he learned to carve ivory, bone, and reindeer horn, and to make himself ivory-pointed spears, bows, and arrows, ivory needles for sewing together skin clothing, and sharp flint daggers. He even painted wonderful animal figures on the walls of his cavern home and carved the same animals on his weapons. Thereupon, as the ice retreated (*Late Stone Age*), he learned to grind the edge of his stone tools and weapons.[1] With these he could build wooden dwellings and fill them with wooden utensils and furniture. He discovered how to make pottery, spin and weave flax for clothing, cultivate grain and follow agriculture. Then he learned to keep the once wild creatures, like cattle and sheep, as tamed domestic animals; at first for food only, but later also as draft animals. At the same time Stone Age men had learned to lead a settled life in towns and villages. Here they sometimes carried on wars, but they had also made a beginning in industries and commerce.

[1] The Stone Age periods are as follows:

Early Stone Age (stone edge made by striking, or *percussion*)	Called Paleolithic Age by archæologists.
Middle Stone Age (chipped stone edge made by *pressure*)	
Late Stone Age (stone edge made by *grinding*)	Called Neolithic Age by archæologists.

17. A world of Late Stone Age barbarism *all around the Mediterranean*

Such had been man's progress in the fifty thousand years since he had begun to make stone weapons and tools. Thus far we have followed this advance only in Europe. Similar progress had also been made by Stone Age men all around the Mediterranean; that is, not only in Europe on the north of the Mediterranean but in Asia on the east of it, and especially in northern Africa on the south of the Mediterranean. The lands all around the Mediterranean therefore formed a world of Late Stone Age barbarism, all of which had reached about the same stage of advancement.

18. This Late Stone Age world still lacking civilization in 4000 B.C.

By 4000 B.C. this barbarism had gone a long way toward civilization, but still fell far short of it. For civilization demands at least three things: the use of *metals*, the possession of *writing*, and the control of men by an organized *government*. Nowhere around the entire Mediterranean did the world of Late Stone Age barbarism as yet possess these things, nor did Europe ever gain them for itself unaided. Europe borrowed them. Hence we must now turn elsewhere to see where these and many other things that help to make up civilization first appeared.

19. Rise of civilization with writing, metal, and government in Egypt (4000–3000 B.C.)

In the southeast corner of the Mediterranean (see map, p. 232) the valley of the river Nile formed a home for men so well supplied with everything needful for human life, and so favorably situated, that the Late Stone Age men of Egypt, as the lower Nile valley is called, began to make more rapid progress than the Late Stone Age men of Europe. There the Egyptians, emerging from the Late Stone Age, invented a system of writing, discovered metal, and learned to use it. Thus in the thousand years between 4000 and 3000 B.C. the Egyptians of the Late Stone Age advanced to a great and wonderful civilization, while the Europeans still remained in barbarism.

20. Discovery of Europe by Egyptian civilization about 3000 B.C.

In the sailing ships which the Egyptians learned to build, the things like metal and writing, which help to make up civilization, began to pass from the dwellers along the Nile to the Late Stone Age Europeans about 3000 B.C. Barbarian Europe was thus discovered by civilized people crossing the Mediterranean

by ship, just as barbarian America was discovered by civilized men who crossed the Atlantic. The civilized discoverers of Europe came from Egypt. Hence in order to understand the further history of Europe we must turn to Egypt and the Near Orient,[1] of which Egypt is a part. There we shall take up the Egyptians just as they had reached the end of the Late Stone Age, and we shall follow them as they gained civilization and became the first great civilized nation.

21. Prehistoric (before 4000 B.C.) and Historic (after 3000 B.C.) Periods

It was not until man founded civilized nations able to *write* and to produce documents and monuments bearing *writing* that the *Historic Period* began. During all the slow progress of man which we have followed through three stages of the Stone Age he never invented writing. All that we know about him we had to learn from his surviving weapons, tools, implements, buildings, and other works of his hands, bearing no writing. The age before the rise of written records we call the *Prehistoric Period*. We are now in a position to understand that the fifty thousand years of man's Stone Age life and all that went before therefore belong to the Prehistoric Period. The transition from the Prehistoric to the Historic Period did not take place suddenly and at once, but was a slow and gradual process which took a long time. The Historic Period began in the Orient during the thousand years between 4000 and 3000 B.C.[2] (see diagram, Fig. 12), as barbarism slowly gave way to civilization and writing became more common. The beginning of civilization was therefore very much the same thing as the beginning of the Historic Period.

22. The Orient and Europe

The transition from the Prehistoric to the Historic Period took place in the Orient because civilization arose there. We

1 The word "Orient" is used to-day to include Japan, China, and India. These lands make up a *Far* Orient. There is also a *Near* Orient, consisting of the lands around the eastern end of the Mediterranean, that is, Egypt and Western Asia, including Asia Minor. We shall use the word "Orient" in this book to designate the *Near* Orient.

2 Notice that dates before Christ (B.C.) are numbered backward: that is, as time *advances* the numbers *decrease*. Thus 3000 B.C. is *later* than 4000 B.C.; 1800 B.C. is *later* than 1900 B.C.

now see that civilization is over five thousand years old. It long flourished in the Orient, where it arose, and there great and powerful nations held the leadership of the world for over three thousand years. Unable to overtake the Orient, the barbarians of Late Stone Age Europe long continued without metals and writing. Then, as they slowly acquired these things, civilized leadership at length passed from the Orient to Europe in the sixth century B.C. We must now, therefore, turn to the Orient to see how man struggled up out of the age of stone tools and weapons into civilization and to follow three thousand years of oriental leadership in civilized life.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 1. What progress in invention have you noticed in your own lifetime? Was there a time when man possessed none of these things? What three ages did earliest man pass through?

SECTION 2. Describe man's earliest tools. How did he live, and what was Europe then like? What do we call this age? What great change brought it to an end?

SECTION 3. Where did man then take refuge? Describe his progress and list his new inventions. What art did he possess?

SECTION 4. When did the ice withdraw for the last time? What new treatment of his edged tools did man then discover? Make a list of his new possessions in this age. What remains of its towns and communities still survive? Did civilization arise in Europe? Whence did it come to Europe? Contrast the Prehistoric and Historic Periods.

NOTE. The following necklace of blue glazed beads made in Egypt was found in a grave of the Late Stone Age in England.

BOOK II. THE ORIENT

CHAPTER II

THE STORY OF EGYPT

Section 5. Egypt and its Earliest Inhabitants

We are to begin our study of the early Orient in Egypt. The traveler who visits Egypt at the present day lands in a very modern-looking harbor at Alexandria (see map, p. 232). He is presently seated in a comfortable railway car, in which we may accompany him as he is carried rapidly across a low flat country, stretching far away to the sunlit horizon. The wide plain is dotted with little villages of dark mud-brick huts, and here and there rise groves of graceful palms. The landscape is carpeted with stretches of bright and vivid green as far as the eye can see.

23. Egypt of to-day

Wandering through this verdure is a network of irrigation canals (Fig. 9). Brown-skinned men of slender build, with dark hair, are seen at intervals along the banks of these canals, swaying up and down, keeping time with the song they sing, as

24. Irrigation

Note. The tiara, or diadem, at the top of this page was found resting on the head of an Egyptian princess of the Feudal Age as she lay in her coffin. The diadem had been placed there nearly four thousand years ago. It is in the form of a chaplet, or wreath, of star flowers wrought of gold and set with bright-colored precious stones, and is one of the best examples of the work of the Egyptian goldsmiths and jewelers (§ 53). It is shown here lying on a cushion.

FIG. 9. AN EGYPTIAN *SHADOOF*, THE OLDEST OF WELL SWEEPS, IRRIGATING THE FIELDS

The man below stands in the water, holding his leather bucket (*A*). The pole (*B*) of the sweep is above him, with a large ball of dried Nile mud on its lower end (*C*) as a lifting weight, or counterpoise, seen just behind the supporting post (*D*). This man lifts the water into a mud basin (*E*). A second man (in the middle) lifts it from this first basin (*E*) to a second basin (*F*), into which he is just emptying his bucket; while a third man (*G*) lifts the water from the middle basin (*F*) to the uppermost basin (*H*) on the top of the bank, where it runs off to the left into trenches spreading over the fields. The low water makes necessary three successive lifts (to *E*, to *F*, to *H*) without ceasing night and day for one hundred days they lift an irrigation bucket attached to a simple device (Fig. 9) exactly like the "well sweep" of our grandfathers in New England. It is kept going day and night, as one man relieves another, and the irrigation trenches, branching all over the field, are thus kept full of water for about a hundred days until the grain ripens. It is the best of evidence that Egypt enjoys no rain.

25. Soil and area

The black soil we see from the train is unexcelled in fertility, for it is enriched each year by the overflow of the river. The roily waters rise above the river banks every summer, spread far over the flats, and stand there long enough to deposit a very thin layer of rich earthy sediment. This sediment, deposited through ages, has built up the Delta, which we are now crossing. The Delta and the valley above, as far as

the First Cataract, together form Egypt (see map, p. 56). It contains over ten thousand square miles of cultivable soil, or somewhat more than the state of Vermont.

26. The Egyptian valley the most favorable situation for the rise of civilization

As our train approaches the southern point of the Delta we begin to see the heights on either side of the valley with which the narrow end of the Delta joins. These heights (Fig. 29) are the plateau of the Sahara Desert, through which the Nile has cut a vast, deep trench as it winds its way northward from inner Africa. This trench or valley is seldom more than thirty miles wide, while the strip of soil on each side of the river rarely exceeds ten miles in width. With the exception of the Delta, therefore, Egypt lies at the bottom of a vast trench. Protected by the uninhabited desert on each side, this valley formed a sheltered home, supplied with water, a rich soil, a mild climate, and plentiful supplies of raw material of nearly all kinds. Nowhere else on the Mediterranean was there a situation so favorable for the progress of early men, and nowhere else have the works of their hands survived in such great numbers.

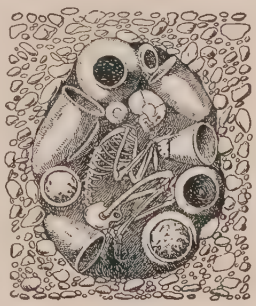


FIG. 10. LOOKING DOWN INTO THE GRAVE OF AN EGYPTIAN WHO LIVED JUST AT THE END OF THE LATE STONE AGE

An oval pit four or five feet deep, excavated on the margin of the desert. The body is surrounded by pottery jars once containing food and drink for the life hereafter. Pieces of metal were beginning to appear with the implements of stone found still lying in such graves

27. Unparalleled record of early human progress in Egypt; prehistoric cemeteries

As we journey into the Nile valley, therefore, we soon realize that it can tell us a story of human progress through successive ages such as we can find nowhere else. The first age which it is to show us is that in which man for the first time passed out of barbarism into civilization. We look out upon the sandy margin of the desert, across large groups of low mounds. These cover

the graves of the earliest ancestors of the brown men we see in the Delta fields. When we have dug out such a burial, we find a prehistoric Nile peasant lying on the bottom of the grave (Fig. 10) surrounded by pottery jars and stone implements. There he has been lying for over six thousand years.

28. The Nile-dwellers outstrip other prehistoric peoples in progress

He belonged to the Late Stone Age world of men, whose settlements we recall entirely surrounded the Mediterranean. But this Nile-dweller's more fortunately situated home enabled him to outstrip in progress all other Late Stone Age peoples around the Mediterranean. The Late Stone Age Egyptians thus left far behind all the other regions around the Mediterranean, as the Nile-dwellers passed from barbarism to civilization during the thousand years from 4000 B.C. to 3000 B.C.

29. The Late Stone Age Egyptians pass from hunting to agriculture

The contents of these prehistoric graves when examined in one cemetery after another show us gradually improving workmanship, which is evidence of this progress. These earliest Egyptians, like the earliest Europeans, had once been only hunters living on the wild game in the Nile jungles. Occasional grains of wheat or barley, found in such graves (Fig. 10), show that they were already cultivating grain, — the grain that later, probably, passed to Europe (§ 13). A fragment of linen in such a grave tells us also where Europe derived its flax. The peasant at the bottom of this grave was therefore watering his fields of flax and grain down on the fertile soil of the valley over six thousand years ago, just as the brown men whom the traveler sees from the car windows to-day are still doing.

30. Earliest government and taxes

The villages of low mud-brick huts which flash by the car windows furnish us also with an exact picture of those vanished prehistoric villages, the homes of the early Nile-dwellers who are still lying in yonder cemeteries on the desert margin. In such a village, over six thousand years ago, lived the local chieftain who controlled the irrigation-canal trenches of the district. To him the peasant was required to carry every season a share of the grain and flax which he gathered from his field; otherwise the supply of water for his crops would stop,

and he would receive an unpleasant visit from the chieftain, demanding instant payment. These were the earliest taxes.

31. Pictorial records

Such transactions led to scratching a rude picture of the basket grain-measure and a number of strokes on the mud wall of the peasant's hut, indicating the number of measures of grain he had paid. In this and many other ways the peasant's dealings with his neighbors or with the chieftain led him to make picture records (Fig. 11), and these are the earliest writing known.

FIG. 11. EXAMPLE OF THE EARLIEST KNOWN EGYPTIAN WRITING

Interpretation—above, the falcon (symbol of a king) leading a human head by a cord; behind the head, six lotus leaves (each the sign for 1000) growing out of the ground to which the head is attached; below, a single-barbed harpoon head and a little rectangle (the sign of a lake). The whole tells the following picture story: "The falcon king led captive six thousand men of the land of the Harpoon Lake"

32. Rise of phonetic signs

Gradually each picture gained a fixed sound, for which it always stood. Let us imagine for convenience that Egyptian contained the English word "leaf." It might be written thus: . The Egyptian would in course of time come to look upon the leaf as the sign for the syllable "leaf," wherever it might occur. By the same process might become the sign for the syllable "bee" wherever found. Having thus a means of writing the syllables "bee" and "leaf," the next step was to put them together thus, , and they would together represent the word "belief." Notice, however, that in the word "belief" the sign has ceased to suggest the idea of a bee but only the *syllable* "be." That is to say, has become a *phonetic* sign. In this way early man could write many names of things of which you cannot make a picture. It is impossible to make a picture of "belief," as you can of a jar or a knife. Thus the Egyptians gradually gained many phonetic signs.

33. Advantage of phonetic signs

If the writing of the Egyptian had remained merely a series of pictures, such words as "belief," "hate," "love," "beauty," and the like could never have been written.[1] But when a large number of his pictures had become phonetic signs, each representing a syllable, it was possible for the Egyptian to write any word he knew, whether the word meant a thing of which he could draw a picture or not. This possession of *phonetic* signs is what makes real writing for the first time. It arose among these Nile-dwellers earlier than anywhere else in the ancient world. Indeed, the Egyptian went still further, for he finally possessed a series of signs, each representing only *one* letter; that is, *alphabetic* signs, or real letters. There were twenty-four letters in this alphabet, which was known in Egypt long before 3000 B.C. It was thus the earliest alphabet known and the one from which our own has descended (see *Ancient Times*, §§ 51–56 and Figs. 29–30, where the reader will find the Egyptian alphabet).

34. Invention of writing materials: ink, pen, and paper

The Egyptians early found out that they could make an excellent paint or ink by thickening water with a little vegetable gum and then mixing in a little soot from the blackened pots over the fire. By dipping a pointed reed into this mixture one could write very well. They also learned that they could split a kind of river reed, called *papyrus*, into thin strips and make large sheets by pasting the strips together with overlapping edges. They thus produced a smooth, tough, pale-yellow paper, the earliest paper known. In this way arose pen, ink, and paper (see Fig. 15). All three of these inventions have descended to us from the Egyptians, and paper still bears its ancient name, "papyrus,"[2] but slightly changed. With the

[1] The words "thy beauty" are written with the last three signs in the inscription over the ship (Fig. 13).

[2] The change from "papyrus" to "paper" is really a very slight one. For *us* is merely the ancient grammatical ending, which must be omitted in English. This leaves us *papyr* as the ancestor of our word "paper," from which it differs by only one letter. On the other Greek word for "papyrus," from which came our word "Bible," see § 229.

invention of phonetic writing and writing materials, civilization was about to begin, and with its advance the *written records* would begin to be made, which meant the end of the Prehistoric Period, and the beginning of the Historic Period.

35. Beginnings of a calendar

The Egyptians at the same time found it necessary to measure time, for the peasant needed to know when he ought to go into the town for the next religious feast, or how many days still remained before he must pay his neighbor the grain he borrowed last year. Like all other early peoples he found the time from new moon to new moon a very convenient rough measure. But the moon-month varies in length from twenty-nine to thirty days, and it does not evenly divide the year. The Egyptian scribe early discovered this inconvenience, and he decided to use the moon no longer for dividing his year. He would have twelve months and he would make his months all of the same length; that is, thirty days each. Then he would celebrate five feast days, a kind of holiday week five days long, at the end of the year. This gave him a year of 365 days. He was not yet enough of an astronomer to know that every four years he ought to have a leap year, of 366 days, although he discovered this fact later. This convenient Egyptian calendar was devised in 4241 B.C., and its introduction is the earliest dated event in history. Furthermore, this calendar is the very one which has descended to us, after more than six thousand years. Unfortunately it has meantime suffered awkward alterations in the lengths of the months, alterations for which the Egyptians were not responsible (see § 629).

36. Egyptian invention of our calendar, 4241 B.C.

37. Discovery of metal (at least 4000 B.C.)

Meantime the Egyptians were also making great progress in other matters. It was probably in the peninsula of Sinai (see map, p. 56) that some Egyptian, wandering thither, once happened to bank his camp fire with pieces of copper ore lying on the ground about the camp. The charcoal of his wood fire mingled with the hot fragments of ore piled around to shield the fire, and thus the ore was "reduced" as the miner says; that is, the copper in metallic form was released from the lumps

of ore. Next morning as the Egyptian stirred the embers, he discovered a few glittering globules, now hardened into beads of metal. He drew them forth and turned them admiringly as they glittered in the morning sunshine. Before long, as the experience was repeated, he discovered whence these strange shining beads had come. He produced more of them, at first only to be worn as ornaments by his women. Then he learned to cast the metal into a blade to replace the flint knife which he carried in his girdle.

38. The dawning of the Age of Metal

Without knowing it this man stood at the dawning of a new era, the Age of Metal. The little disk of shining copper which he drew from the ashes, if this Egyptian wanderer could have seen it, might have reflected to him a vision of steel buildings, Brooklyn bridges, huge factories roaring with the noise of thousands of machines of metal, and vast stretches of steel roads along which thunder hosts of rushing locomotives. For these things of our modern world, and all they signify, would never have come to pass but for the little bead of metal which the Egyptian held in his hand for the first time on that eventful day so long ago. Since the discovery of fire over fifty thousand years earlier (§ 4) man had made no conquest of the things of the earth which could compare in importance with this discovery of metal. Civilization had dawned and the Historic Period (§ 21) was about to begin. At one point in the fringe of Late Stone Age life around the Mediterranean, man had advanced from the barbarism of stone tools and weapons to the beginning of a civilization possessed of writing, metal, and government.

39. The first glimpse of the pyramids

Such are the thoughts which occupy the mind of the well-informed traveler as his train carries him southward across the Delta. Perhaps he is thinking of the wonders which the Egyptians might possibly achieve as he sees them in imagination throwing away their flint chisels and replacing them with those of copper. The train rounds a bend, and through an opening in the palms the traveler is fairly blinded by a burst of

blazing sunshine from the western desert, in the midst of which he discovers a group of noble pyramids rising above the glare of the sands. It is his first glimpse of the great pyramids of Gizeh, and it tells him better than any printed page what the Egyptian builders with copper tools in their hands could do. A few minutes later his train is moving among the modern buildings of Cairo, and the very next day will surely find him taking the seven-mile drive from Cairo out to Gizeh.

Section 6. The Pyramid Age

40. The pyramids as royal tombs

No traveler ever forgets the first drive to the Pyramids of Gizeh, as he sees their giant forms rising higher and higher above the crest of the western desert (see the Frontispiece). A thousand questions arise in the visitor's mind. He has read that these vast buildings he is approaching are tombs, in which the kings of Egypt were buried. Other tombs of masonry, much smaller in size, cluster about the pyramids in great numbers (Frontispiece). Here were buried the relatives of the king, and the great men of his court, who assisted him in the government of the land (Fig. 14). Such mighty buildings reveal many things about the men who built them. In the first place, these tombs show that the Egyptians believed in a life after death and that to obtain such life it was necessary to preserve the body from destruction. They built these tombs to shelter and protect the body after death. From this belief came also the practice of "embalming," by which the body was preserved as a mummy (Fig. 34).

41. The gods of Egypt: Re and Osiris

The Egyptians had many gods, but there were two whom they worshiped above all others. The Sun, which shines so gloriously in the cloudless Egyptian sky, was their greatest god, and their most splendid temples were erected for his worship. Indeed, the pyramid was a symbol sacred to the Sun-god. They called him Re (pron. *ray*). The other great power which they revered as a god was the shining Nile. The great river

and the fertile soil he refreshes, and the green life which he brings forth — all these the Egyptian thought of *together* as a single god, Osiris, the imperishable life of the earth which revives and fades every year with the changes of the seasons. It was a beautiful thought to the Egyptian that this same life-giving power which furnished him his food in *this* world would care for him also in the *next*, when his body lay out yonder in the great cemetery which we are approaching.

42. Slow progress of the Egyptians before they built stone masonry

But this vast cemetery of Gizeh tells us of many other things besides the religion of the Egyptians. Let us see what it tells of Egyptian progress in building. As we look up at the colossal pyramids behind the Sphinx (Frontispiece) we can hardly grasp the fact of the enormous forward stride taken by the Egyptians since the days when they used to be buried with their flint knives in a pit scooped out on the margin of the desert (Fig. 10). It was chiefly the use of metal which carried them so far. That Egyptian in Sinai who noticed the first bit of metal (§ 37) lived over a thousand years before these pyramids were built. He was buried in a pit like that of the earliest Egyptian peasant (Figs. 10 and 12, *1*). By the thirty-fourth century B.C. the Egyptians were building the tombs of their kings of sun-baked brick. Such a royal tomb was merely a chamber in the ground, roofed with wood and covered with a mound of sand and gravel (Fig. 12, *2*). Such tombs continued to be built until about 3000 B.C., only a century before the Great Pyramid of Gizeh.

43. Rapid progress from the earliest stone masonry to the Great Pyramid — a century and a half

Meantime some skillful workmen found out that with their copper tools they could cut blocks of limestone and line the burial chamber with these stone blocks in place of the soft bricks. This was the first piece of *stone* masonry ever put together in so far as we know (Fig. 12, *3*). It was built not more than fifty years before 3000 B.C. In the course of the next century and a half or less (Fig. 12, bracket at bottom) the first tombs of pyramidal form were erected (Fig. 12, *5*, *6*, *7*), and by 2900 B.C. the king's architect was building the Great Pyramid of Gizeh (Fig. 12, *8*). Most of this amazing

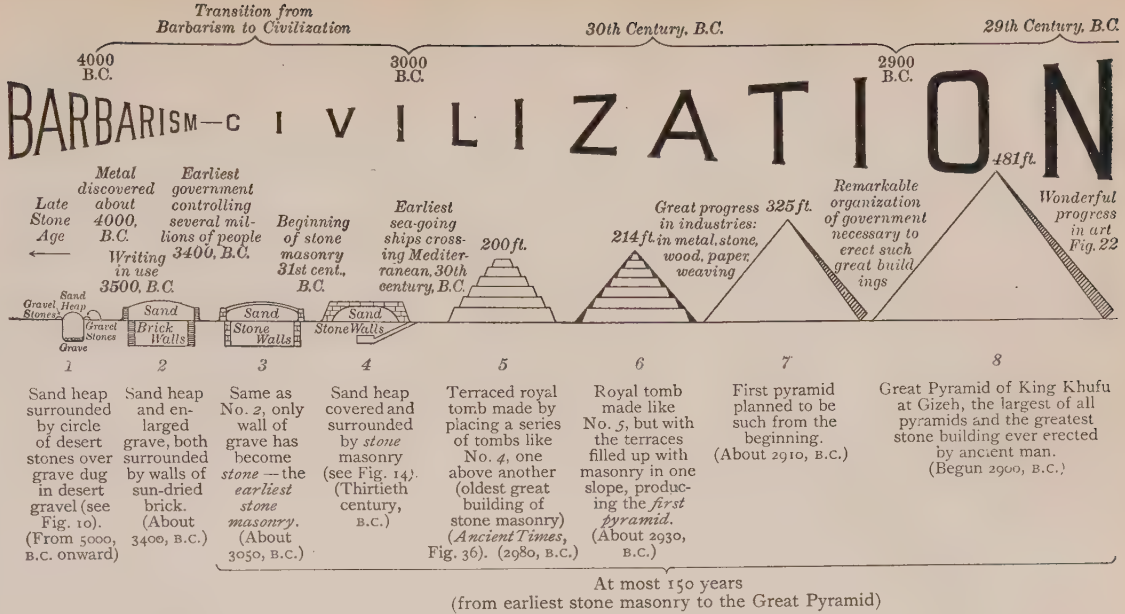

Transition from Barbarism to Civilization
30th Century, B.C.
29th Century, B.C.
4000 B.C.
3000 B.C.
2900 B.C.
BARBARISM—CIVILIZATION
Late Stone Age
Metal discovered about 4000, B.C.
Writing in use 3500, B.C.
Earliest government controlling several millions of people 3400, B.C.
Beginning of stone masonry 31st cent., B.C.
Earliest sea-going ships crossing Mediterranean, 30th century, B.C.
200 ft.
214 ft.
Great progress in industries: in metal, stone, wood, paper, weaving
325 ft.
Remarkable organization of government necessary to erect such great buildings
481 ft.
Wonderful progress in art Fig. 22
Gravel
Sand Heap
Stones
Grave
Sand
Brick Walls
Gravel
Stones
Sand
Stone Walls
Sand
Stone Walls
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
Sand heap surrounded by circle of desert stones over grave dug in desert gravel (see Fig. 10). (From 5000, B.C. onward)
Sand heap and enlarged grave, both surrounded by walls of sun-dried brick. (About 3400, B.C.)
Same as No. 2, only wall of grave has become stone — the earliest stone masonry. (About 3050, B.C.)
Sand heap covered and surrounded by stone masonry (see Fig. 14). (Thirtieth century, B.C.)
Terraced royal tomb made by placing a series of tombs like No. 4, one above another (oldest great building of stone masonry) (Ancient Times, Fig. 36). (2980, B.C.)
Royal tomb made like No. 5, but with the terraces filled up with masonry in one slope, producing the first pyramid. (About 2930, B.C.)
First pyramid planned to be such from the beginning. (About 2910, B.C.)
Great Pyramid of King Khufu at Gizeh, the largest of all pyramids and the greatest stone building ever erected by ancient man. (Begun 2900, B.C.)
At most 150 years
(from earliest stone masonry to the Great Pyramid)

FIG. 12. THE EVOLUTION FROM THE SAND HEAP TO THE PYRAMID IN TWO THOUSAND YEARS, AND THE RISE OF STONE ARCHITECTURE IN ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS

(Consult description under the Frontispiece and see full explanation in *Ancient Times*, p. 55)

progress was made during the thirtieth century B.C.; that is, between 3000 and 2900 B.C. (Fig. 12, middle bracket at top). Such rapid progress in control of mechanical power can be found in no other period of the world's history until the nineteenth century after Christ, which closed not long before most of the readers of this book were born.

44. The vast size of the Great Pyramid

It helps us to realize this progress when we know that the Great Pyramid covers thirteen acres. It is a solid mass of masonry containing 2,300,000 blocks of limestone, each weighing on an average two and a half tons; that is, each block is as heavy as a large wagonload of coal. The sides of the pyramid at the base are 755 feet long; that is, about a block and three quarters (counting twelve city blocks to a mile), and the building was nearly five hundred feet high. An ancient story tells us that a hundred thousand men were working on this royal tomb for twenty years (see Frontispiece).

45. Length and date of the Pyramid Age

From the summit of the Great Pyramid there is a grand view southward, down a long line of pyramids rising dimly as far as one can see on the southern horizon. Each pyramid was a royal tomb, and each such tomb therefore means that a king lived, ruled, and died. The line is over sixty miles long, and its oldest pyramids represent the first great age of Egyptian civilization after the land was united under one king.[1] We may call it the Pyramid Age, and it lasted about five hundred years, from about 3000 until after 2500 B.C. These great cemeteries (see Frontispiece) reveal to us much of the wonderful story of the Pyramid Age, — its government, its ship-building, business and commerce, its agriculture, its arts and crafts, its art and architecture, and its daily life. In short these monuments reveal to us the first great age of civilization in the history of man.

[1] Before this, little kingdoms scattered up and down the valley had long existed but were finally united into one kingdom, under a single king. The first king to establish this union permanently was Menes, who united Egypt under his rule about 3400 B.C. But it was four centuries or more after Menes that the united kingdom became powerful and wealthy enough to build these royal pyramid-tombs, marking for us the first great age of Egyptian civilization.

Such a great piece of work as a pyramid shows the immense progress of the Egyptians in *government*. We perceive at once that it must have required a very skillful ruler and a great body of officials to manage and to feed a hundred thousand workmen around the Great Pyramid. The king who controlled such vast undertakings was no longer a local chieftain (§ 30), but he now ruled a united Egypt, the earliest great unified nation, having several millions of people. The king was so reverenced that the people did not mention him by name, but instead they spoke of the palace in which he lived; that is, the "Great House," or, in Egyptian, "Pharaoh."[1] He had his *local* officials collecting taxes all over Egypt. It was also their business to try all cases at law wherever they arose, and every judge had before him the written law which bade him judge justly.

46. Government in the Pyramid Age

The king's huge *central* offices occupying low sun-baked brick buildings sheltered an army of clerks with their reed pens and their rolls of papyrus (§ 34), keeping the king's records and accounts. The taxes received from the people here were not paid in money, for coined money did not yet exist. Such payments were made in produce: grain, livestock, wine, honey, linen, and the like. With the exception of the cattle, these had to be stored in granaries and storehouses, a vast group of which formed the treasury of the king.

47. The treasury

The villas (Fig. 20) of the officials who assisted the king in all this business of government, with their gardens, formed a large part of the royal city. The chief quarter, however, was occupied by the palace of the king and the luxurious parks and gardens which surrounded it. Thus the palace and its grounds, the official villas, and offices of the government made up the capital of Egypt, the royal city which once extended along the foot of the Gizeh pyramid cemetery and stretched far away southward over the valley plain. It was later called Memphis. But the city was all built of sun-baked brick and wood, and it has therefore vanished.

48. The royal city

[1] This word is a title, not the name of any particular king.

49. Earliest seagoing ships on the Mediterranean and the Red Sea

In the Pyramid Age the Pharaoh was powerful enough to seek wealth beyond the boundaries of Egypt. A few surviving blocks from a fallen pyramid-temple (Fig. 21) south of Gizeh bear carved and painted reliefs (Fig. 13) showing us the ships which he ventured to send beyond the shelter of the Nile mouths far across the end of the Mediterranean to the coast of Phœnicia (see map, p. 56). This was in the middle of the twenty-eighth

FIG. 13. EARLIEST REPRESENTATION OF A SEAGOING SHIP (TWENTY-EIGHTH CENTURY B.C.)

The scene is carved on the wall of a temple (Fig. 21). The people are all bowing to the king, whose figure (now lost) stood on shore (at the left), and they salute him with the words written in a line of hieroglyphs above, meaning: "Hail to thee! O Sahure [the king's name], thou god of the living! We behold thy beauty." Some of these men are bearded Phœnician prisoners brought by this Egyptian ship, which with seven others, making a fleet of eight vessels, had therefore crossed the east end of the Mediterranean and returned. The big double mast is unshipped and lies on supports rising by the three steering oars in the stern. The model and ornaments of these earliest known ships spread in later times to ships found in all waters from Italy to India

century B.C., and this relief (Fig. 13) contains the oldest known picture of a seagoing ship. Yet at that time the Pharaoh had already been carrying on such over-sea commerce for centuries. Similarly he now sent the first ships down the Red Sea, and was also trading by donkey caravans with the negroes of the Sudan.

A stroll among the tombs clustering so thickly around the pyramids of Gizeh (Frontispiece) is almost like a walk among the

busy communities of this populous valley in the days of the pyramid-builders. We find the door of every tomb standing open (Fig. 14), and there is nothing to prevent our entrance. We stand in an oblong room with walls of stone masonry. This is a chapel-chamber to which the Egyptian believed the dead man buried beneath the tomb might return every day. Here he would find food and drink left for him daily by his

50. The tomb-chapels of the Pyramid Age; the life they reveal

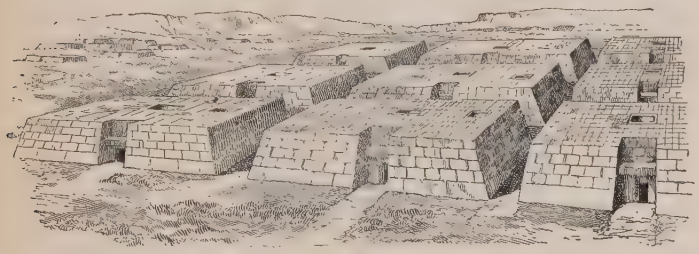


FIG. 14. RESTORATION OF A GROUP OF TOMBS OF THE NOBLES IN THE PYRAMID AGE

These tombs are grouped about the royal pyramids, as seen in the Frontispiece. They are sometimes of vast size. The rectangular opening in the top of each is a shaft leading down to the burial chamber in the native rock far below the tomb structure. The structure is of stone, surrounding a heap of sand and gravel inside (Fig. 12, *4*). The door of the chapel room can be seen in the front of each tomb. The reliefs shown in Figs. 15–19 adorn the inside walls of these chapels

relatives. He would also find the stone walls of this room covered from floor to ceiling with carved scenes, beautifully painted, picturing the daily life on the great estate of which he was lord (Figs. 15–19).

51. Agriculture and cattle-raising; beasts of burden

The tallest form in all these scenes on the walls is that of the noble (Fig. 15), the lord of the estate, who was buried in this tomb. He stands looking out over his fields and inspecting the work going on there. These fields where the oxen draw the plow, and the sowers scatter the seed (Fig. 16), are the oldest scene of agriculture known to us. Here too are the herds, long lines of sleek fat cattle (Fig. 15). While they graze in the

pasture, the milch cows are led up and tied to be milked (Fig. 17). These cattle are also beasts of burden; we have noticed the oxen drawing the plow (Fig. 16), and the donkey too is everywhere, for it would be difficult to harvest the grain without him (Fig. 18). But we find no horses in these tombs of the Pyramid Age, for the horse was then unknown to the Egyptian.

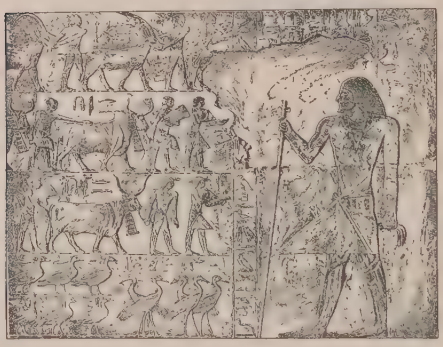


FIG. 15. RELIEF SCENE FROM THE CHAPEL OF A NOBLE'S TOMB (FIG. 14) IN THE PYRAMID AGE

The tall figure of the noble stands at the right. A piece has fallen out of the wall, immediately before his face and figure. He is inspecting three rows of cattle and a row of fowl brought before him. Note the two scribes who head the two middle rows. Each is writing with a pen on a sheet of papyrus, and one carries two pens behind his ear. Such reliefs after being carved were colored in bright hues by the painter (see § 63)

52. The coppersmith

On the next wall we find again the tall figure of the noble overseeing the booths and yards where the craftsmen of his estate are working. Yonder is the smith. He has never heard of his ancestor who picked up the first bead of copper probably over a thousand years earlier (§ 37). Much progress has been made since that day. This man could make excellent copper[1] tools of all sorts. The tool which demanded the greatest skill was the long, flat ripsaw,

[1] Before the end of the Pyramid Age, the coppersmiths had learned how to *harden* their tools by melting a small amount of tin with the copper. This produced a mixture of tin (usually not more than 10 per cent) and copper, called bronze, which is much harder than copper. It is not yet certain where the first tin was obtained, or who made the first bronze, but it may have come from the north side of the Mediterranean (*Ancient Times*, § 336).

which the smith knew how to hammer into shape out of a broad strip of copper sometimes five or six feet long. Such a saw may be seen in use in Fig. 19.

53. The lapidary, goldsmith, and jeweler

On the same wall we find the lapidary holding up for the noble's admiration splendid stone bowls, cut from diorite. Although this kind of stone is as hard as steel, the bowl is ground to such thinness that the sunlight glows through its dark-gray sides. Other workmen are cutting and grinding tiny

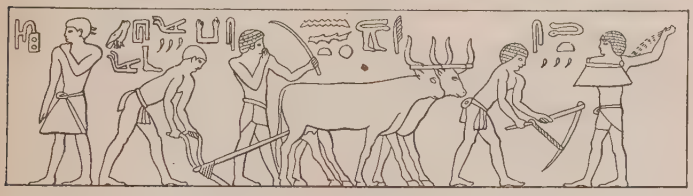


FIG. 16. PLOWING AND SOWING IN THE PYRAMID AGE

There are two plowmen, one driving the oxen and one holding the plow. This wooden plow was derived from such a wooden hoe as we see in use in front of the oxen. The handle of the hoe, here grasped by the user, was lengthened so that oxen might be yoked to it. The hoe handle thus became the beam of a plow. Two short handles were then attached by which the plowman behind could guide it (§ 52). The man with the hoe breaks up the clods left by the plow, and in front of him is the sower, scattering the seed from the curious sack he carries before him. At the left is a scribe of the estate. The hieroglyphs at the top in all such scenes explain what is going on. Scene from the chapel of a noble's tomb (Fig. 14)

pieces of beautiful blue turquoise. These pieces they inlay with remarkable accuracy into recesses in the surface of a magnificent golden vase, just made ready by the goldsmith. The booth of the goldsmith is filled with workmen and apprentices, weighing gold and costly stones, hammering and casting, soldering and fitting together richly wrought jewelry which can hardly be surpassed by the best goldsmiths and jewelers of to-day. Magnificent pieces of this wonderful jewelry have been found in the tombs (see headpiece, p. 17 ; *Ancient Times*, Plate I and Fig. 47).

54. The potter's wheel and furnace

In the next space on this wall we find the potter no longer building up his jars and bowls with his fingers alone, as in the Stone Age. He now sits before a small horizontal *wheel*, upon which he deftly shapes the vessel as it whirls round and round under his fingers. When the soft clay vessels are ready, they are no longer unevenly burned in an open fire, as among the Late Stone Age potters in the Swiss lake-villages (Fig. 7); but here in the Egyptian potter's yard are long rows of closed furnaces of clay as tall as a man. When the pottery is packed in these furnaces, it is evenly burned because it is protected from the wind.

55. The earliest glass

FIG. 17. PEASANT MILKING IN THE PYRAMID AGE

The cow is restive and the ancient cowherd has tied her hind legs. Behind her another man is holding her calf, which rears and plunges in the effort to reach the milk. Scene from the chapel of a noble's tomb (Fig. 14)

Here we also find the craftsmen making *glass*. This art the Egyptians had discovered centuries earlier. They spread the glass on tiles in gorgeous glazes for adorning house and palace walls (see *Ancient Times*, Plate II, p. 164). Later they learned to make charming many-colored glass bottles and vases, which were widely exported.

56. The weavers and tapestry-makers

Yonder the weaving women draw forth from the loom a gossamer fabric of linen. The picture on this wall could not tell us of its fineness, but fortunately pieces of it have survived, wrapped around the mummy of a king of this age. These specimens of royal linen are so fine that it requires a magnifying glass to distinguish them from silk, and the best work of the modern *machine* loom is coarse in comparison with this fabric of the ancient Egyptian *hand* loom. At one loom a lovely tapestry is being made, for these weavers of Egypt furnished the earliest known specimens of such work, to be hung on the walls of the Pharaoh's palace or stretched to shade the roof garden of the noble's villa (Fig. 20).

In the next space on the wall we find huge bundles of papyrus reeds, which barelegged men are gathering along the edge of the Nile marsh. These reeds furnish piles of pale-yellow paper in long sheets (§ 34). The ships which we have followed on the Mediterranean (Fig. 13) will yet add bales of this Nile paper to their cargoes, and carry it to the European world.

57. Papermakers

We seem almost to hear the hubbub of hammers and mauls as we approach the next section of wall, where we find the shipbuilders and cabinetmakers. Here is a long line of curving hulls, with workmen swarming over them like ants, fitting together the earliest seagoing ships (Fig. 13). Beside them are the busy cabinetmakers (Fig. 19), fashioning luxurious furniture for the noble's villa (Fig. 20). The finished chairs and couches for the king or the rich are overlaid with gold and silver, or inlaid with ebony and ivory, and upholstered with soft leathern cushions (Fig. 31).

58. Shipbuilders, carpenters, and cabinetmakers

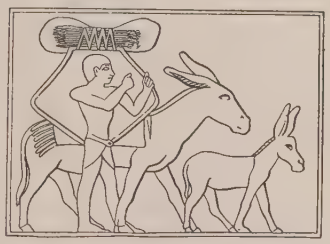


Fig. 18. Donkey carrying a Load of Grain Sheaves in the Pyramid Age

The foal accompanies its mother while at work. Scene from the chapel of a noble's tomb (Fig. 14)

As we look back over these painted chapel walls, we see that the tombs of Gizeh tell us a very vivid story of how early men learned for the first time to make for themselves all the most important things they needed, or the luxuries they desired. We should notice how many more such things these men of the Nile could now make than the Stone Age men, who were living in the lake-villages and other towns of Europe (Fig. 5) at the very time these tomb-chapels were built.

59. Industrial progress of man revealed by the Egyptian tomb-chapels

It is easy to picture the bright sunny river in those ancient days alive with boats and barges moving hither and thither. For they are often depicted on these walls, loaded with the

60. River commerce; the market place; traffic in goods; circulation of precious metals

products of all these industries, to be carried to the treasury of the Pharaoh as taxes or to the market of the town to be bartered for other goods. Here on the wall is a picture of the market place itself. We can watch the cobbler offering the baker a pair of sandals as payment for a cake, or the carpenter's wife giving the fisherman a little wooden box to pay for a fish. We see therefore that the people have *no coined money* to use, and that in the market place trade is actual exchange of goods, commonly called barter or traffic. Such was

FIG. 19. CABINETMAKERS IN THE PYRAMID AGE

At the left a man is cutting with a chisel which he taps with a mallet; next, a man "rips" a board with a copper saw; next, two men are finishing off a couch, and at the right a man is drilling a hole with a bow-drill. Scene from the chapel of a noble's tomb (Fig 14). Compare a finished chair belonging to a wealthy noble of the Empire (Fig. 31)

the business of the common people. If we could see the large transactions in the palace, we should find there heavy rings of gold of a standard weight, which circulated like money. Rings of copper also served the same purpose. Such rings were the forerunners of the earliest coins (Fig. 71).

61. Three classes of society in the Pyramid Age

These people in the gayly painted picture of the market place on the chapel wall are the common folk of Egypt in the Pyramid Age. Some of them were *free men*, following their own business or industry. Others were *slaves*, working the fields on the great estates. Neither of these humble classes owned any land. Over them were the *landowners*, the Pharaoh and his great lords and officials, like the owner of this tomb

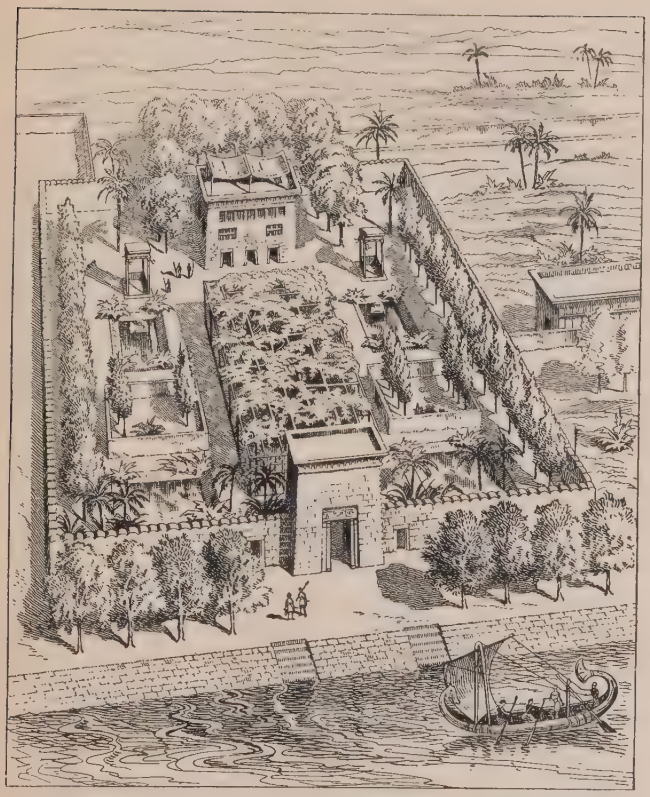


FIG. 20. VILLA OF AN EGYPTIAN NOBLE

The garden is inclosed with a high wall. There are pools on either side as one enters, and a long arbor extends down the middle. The house at the rear, embowered in trees, is crowned by a roof garden shaded with awnings of tapestry (see § 63)

(Fig. 15). From their tombs we know many more of them by name. We know the grand viziers and the chief treasurers, the chief judges and the architects, the chamberlains and marshals of the palace, and so on. We can even visit the tomb of the architect who built the Great Pyramid of Gizeh for Khufu.

62. The noble of the Pyramid Age in his home

We can here observe with what enjoyment these nobles and officials presided over this busy industrial and social life of the Nile valley in the Pyramid Age. Here on this chapel wall again we see its owner seated at ease in his palanquin, a luxurious wheelless carriage, borne upon the shoulders of slaves. He is returning from the inspection of his estate where we have been following him. His bearers carry him into the shady garden before his house (Fig. 20), where they set down the palanquin and cease their song.[1] His wife advances at once to greet him. Her place is always at his side; she is his sole wife, held in all honor, and enjoys every right which belongs to her husband. This garden is the noble's paradise. Here he may recline for an hour of leisure with his family and friends, playing at draughts, listening to the music of harp, pipe, and lute, watching his women in the slow and stately dances of the time, while his children are sporting about among the arbors, splashing in the pool as they chase the fish, playing with ball, doll, and jumping jack, or teasing the tame monkey which takes refuge under their father's ivory-legged stool.

63. Art of the Pyramid Age — the house; painting and relief

The villa (Fig. 20) which peeps through the verdure is light and airy and gay with brightly colored tapestry hangings. It is a work of art, bright in all its decorations with lotus flowers and palms and all the beauty of the outdoor world which the Egyptian so much loved. The Egyptians could not have left us the beautifully painted reliefs in the tomb-chapels unless they had possessed trained artists. Their drawings show that they were not able to overcome all the difficulties of representing on a flat surface objects having thickness and roundness. Animal figures are drawn, however, with great beauty and lifelikeness (Figs. 15 19), but perspective is almost entirely unknown, and objects in the background or distance are drawn of the same size as those in front.

The portrait sculptor was the greatest artist of this age. His statues were carved in stone or wood, and colored in the

[1] Recorded, with other songs, on the tomb-chapel walls.

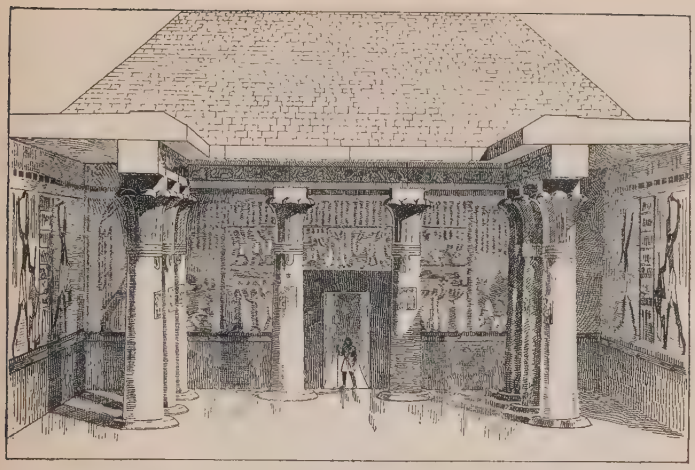


FIG. 21. COURT OF A PYRAMID-TEMPLE CONTAINING THE EARLIEST KNOWN COLONNADES (TWENTY-EIGHTH CENTURY B.C.)

Notice the pyramid rising behind the temple (as in the Frontispiece). The door in the middle leads to the holy place built against the side of the pyramid, where a false door in the pyramid masonry serves as the portal through which the king comes forth from the world of the dead into this beautiful temple to enjoy the food and drink placed here for him and to share in the splendid feasts celebrated here. The center of the court is open to the sky; the roof of the porch all around is supported on columns, the earliest known in the history of architecture. A hundred years earlier at Gizeh, the Egyptians were still using plain square piers for such supports (see *Ancient Times*, § 96). From such Egyptian colonnaded courts those of later Europe were copied (see Fig. 106). Each column represents a palm tree, the capital being the crown of foliage. The whole place was colored in the bright hues of nature, including the painting on the walls behind the columns. Among these paintings was the ship in Fig. 13. Thirteen hundred feet of copper piping, the earliest known plumbing, was installed in this building

hues of life; the eyes were inlaid with rock crystal, and they still shine with the gleam of life (Fig. 23). More lifelike portraits have never been produced by any age, although they are the earliest portraits in the history of art. Such statues of the

64. Art of the Pyramid Age — portrait sculpture and architecture

kings are often superb (Fig. 22). They were set up in the Pharaoh's pyramid temple (Frontispiece and Fig. 21). In size, the most remarkable statue of the Pyramid Age is the Great Sphinx, which stands here in this cemetery of Gizeh. The head is a portrait of Khafre, the king who built the second pyramid of Gizeh (see Frontispiece), and was carved from a promontory of rock which overlooked the royal city. It is the largest portrait ever wrought. In architecture it is important to notice that the pyramid architects designed the earliest known columns and colonnades (Fig. 21). From these the architects of later Europe copied their own colonnades (see Fig. 106).

Section 7. The Feudal Age

65. The voyage up the Nile

The Pyramid Age lasted until after 2500 B.C. (see § 45). It was not the end of civilization on the Nile; other great periods were to follow. Along the palm-fringed shores far away to the south we shall find the buildings, tombs, and monuments which will tell us of two more great ages on the Nile — the Feudal Age and the Empire. We board a Nile boat and steam steadily southward. As we scan the scarred and weatherworn cliffs (Fig. 29) we discover many a tomb-door cut in the face of the cliff, and leading to tomb-chapels excavated in the rock (Fig. 25).

66. The tombs of the barons of the Feudal Age

These cliff-tombs looking down upon the river belonged to the Feudal Age of Egyptian history. The men buried in these tombs succeeded in gaining greater power than their ancestors. They were granted lands by the king, under arrangements which in later Europe we call feudal. They were thus powerful barons, living like little kings on their broad estates, made up of the fertile fields upon which these tomb-doors now look down. This Feudal Age lasted for several centuries and was flourishing by 2000 B.C.

67. The libraries of the Feudal barons

We know more about this Feudal Age because some of its books have escaped destruction. Fragments from the libraries of these feudal barons — the oldest libraries in the world —

FIG. 22. PORTRAIT OF KING KHAFRE, BUILDER OF THE SECOND PYRAMID OF GIZEH

Found in his valley-temple (Frontispiece). It is carved in excessively hard stone, called diorite. The falcon with protecting wings outstretched is a symbol of the great god Horus (twenty-ninth century B.C.)

FIG. 23. HEAD OF A ROYAL STATUE OF BRONZE IN THE PYRAMID AGE

It represents King Pepi I (nearly 2600 B.C.). It was hammered into shape over a wooden form. The metal is incrusted with rust, but owing to the eyes, of inlaid rock crystal, the portrait is very lifelike

FIG. 24. THE COLOSSAL COLUMNS OF THE NAVE IN THE GREAT HALL OF KARNAK

These are the columns of the middle two rows in the nave (Fig. 28). The human figures below show by contrast the vast dimensions of the columns towering above them (§ 75)

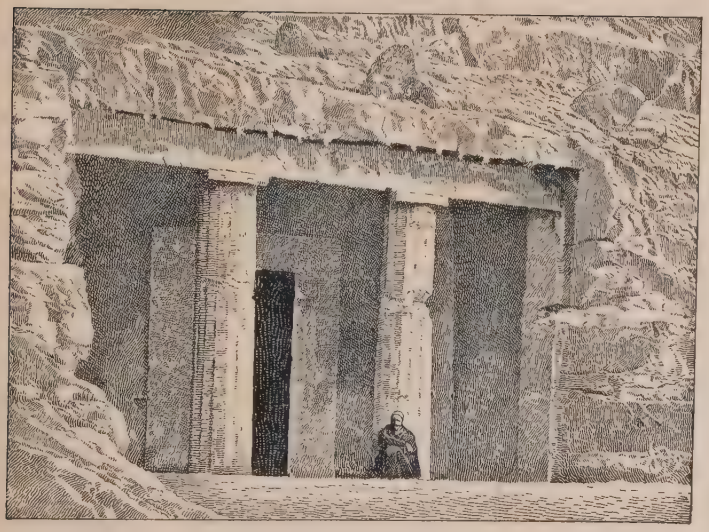


FIG. 25. CLIFF-TOMB OF AN EGYPTIAN NOBLE OF THE FEUDAL AGE

This tomb is not a masonry structure like the tombs of the Pyramid Age (Fig. 14), but it is cut into the face of the cliff. The chapel entered through this door contains painted reliefs like those of the Pyramid Age (Figs. 15–19) and also many written records. In this chapel the noble tells of his kind treatment of his people; he says: "There was no citizen's daughter whom I misused; there was no widow whom I oppressed; there was no peasant whom I evicted; there was no shepherd whom I expelled; . . . there was none wretched in my community, there was none hungry in my time. When years of famine came I plowed all the fields of the Oryx barony [his estate] . . . preserving its people alive and furnishing its food so that there was none hungry therein. I gave to the widow as to her who had a husband; I did not exalt the great above the humble in anything that I gave" (§ 68). All this we can read inscribed in this tomb

have fortunately been discovered in their tombs. These oldest of all surviving books are in the form of rolls of papyrus. Here are the most ancient storybooks in the world: tales of wanderings and adventures in Asia; tales of shipwreck at the gate of the unknown ocean beyond the Red Sea — the earliest

"Sindbad the Sailor" (see a page from this story in *Ancient Times*, Fig. 58); and tales of wonders wrought by ancient wise men and magicians.

68. Books on kindness and justice

Some of these stories set forth the sufferings of the poor and the humble, and seek to stir the rulers to be just and kind in their treatment of the weaker classes. Some describe the wickedness of men and the hopelessness of the future. Others tell of a righteous ruler who is yet to come, a "good shepherd" they call him, meaning a good king, who shall bring in justice and happiness for all. We notice here a contrast with the Pyramid Age. With the in-coming of the Pyramid builders we saw a tremendous growth in power, in building, and in art; but the Feudal Age reveals progress also in a higher realm, that of unselfish conduct and noble character (see description under Fig. 25).

69. Books on science

Very few papyrus rolls were needed to deal with the science of this time. The largest and the most valuable of all contained what they had learned about medicine and the organs of the human body. This oldest medical book, when unrolled, is to-day about sixty-six feet long and has recipes for all sorts of ailments. Some of them are still good and call for remedies which, like castor oil, are still in common use; others represent the ailment as due to demons, which were long believed to be the cause of disease. There are also rolls containing the simpler rules of arithmetic, based on the decimal system which we still use; others treat the beginnings of geometry and elementary algebra. Even observations of the heavenly bodies with crude instruments were made; but these records, like those in geography, have been lost.

70. Pharaoh's commerce by sea; a predecessor of the Suez Canal four thousand years ago

While conditions *at home* made great progress, at the same time these rulers of the Feudal Age reached out by sea for the wealth of *other lands*. Their fleets sailed over among the Ægean islands and probably controlled the large island of Crete (§§ 200–203). They dug a canal from the north end of the Red Sea westward to the nearest branch of the Nile in the

eastern Delta (see map, p. 56). The Pharaoh's Mediterranean ships could sail up the easternmost mouth of the Nile, then enter the canal and, passing eastward through it, reach the Red Sea. Thus the Mediterranean and the Red Sea were first connected by this predecessor of the Suez Canal four thousand years ago. The power and prosperity of the Feudal Age did much to prepare Egypt to rule other nations, as mistress of a great Empire.

Section 8. The Empire

71. The Nile voyage — arrival at Thebes

The monuments along the river banks have thus far told us the story of two of the three periods, or ages,[1] into which the career of this great Nile people falls. After we have left the tombs of the Feudal Age and have continued our journey over four hundred miles southward from Cairo, all at once we catch glimpses of vast masses of stone masonry and lines of tall columns rising among the palms on the east side of the river. They are the ruins of the once great city of Thebes, which will tell us the story of the third period, the Empire.

72. Karnak — arrival of the horse in Egypt

Here we find not only a vast cemetery, but also great temples (see Plan, *Ancient Times*, p. 81). A walk around the colossal temple of Karnak[2] at Thebes is as instructive to us in studying the Empire as we have found the Gizeh cemetery to be in studying the Pyramid Age. We find the walls of this immense temple covered with enormous sculptures in relief, depicting the wars of the Egyptians in Asia. We see the giant figure of the Pharaoh as he stands in his war chariot, scattering the enemy before his plunging horses (Fig. 26). The Pharaohs of the Pyramid Age had never seen a horse (§ 51), and this is

[1] These three ages are (1) Pyramid Age, about 3000–2500 B.C. (Section 6); (2) Feudal Age, flourishing 2000 B.C. (Section 7); (3) the Empire, about 1580–1150 B.C. (Section 8).

[2] A view of the great Karnak temple taken from an aëroplane will be found in *Ancient Times*, Fig. 64. Karnak is the name of a tiny modern village near the great temple.

the first time we have met the horse on the ancient monuments. After the close of the Feudal Age the animal began to be imported from Asia; the chariot, the first wheeled vehicle in Africa, came with him, and Egypt learned warfare on a scale unknown before.

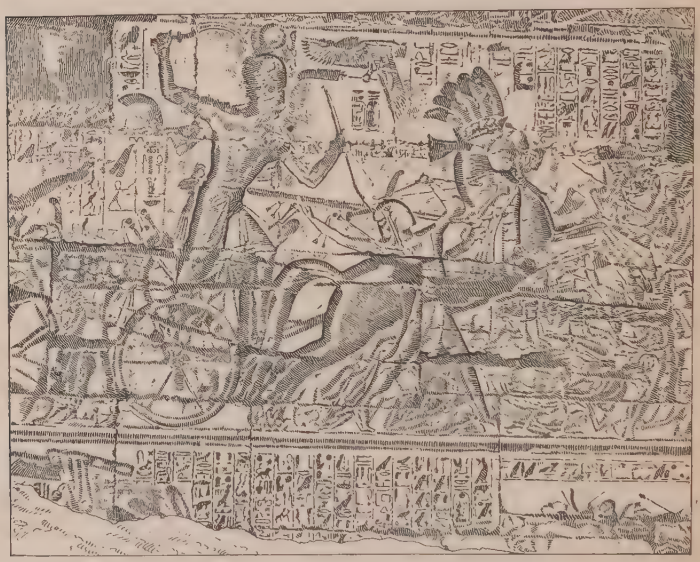


FIG. 26. A PHARAOH OF THE EMPIRE IN BATTLE

The Pharaoh stands in his chariot with the reins of his galloping horses fastened about his waist. His colossal figure towers above the form of the opposing chief below, who throws up his hands as the Pharaoh lifts a curved sword to strike him down. The tiny figures of the enemy are scattered beneath the Pharaoh's horses. This is one of an enormous series of such scenes, one hundred and seventy feet long, carved in relief on the outside of the Great Hall of Karnak (Figs. 24, 28). Such sculpture was brightly colored and served to enhance the architectural effect and to impress the people with the heroism of the Pharaoh

73. The Empire (1580–1150 B.C.)

The Pharaohs were now great generals with a well-organized standing army. With these forces the Pharaohs conquered an empire which extended from the Euphrates in Asia to the Fourth Cataract of the Nile in Africa (see Map I, p. 80).

By an empire in ancient times we mean a group of nations subdued and ruled over by some more powerful nation. When government first arose, it began with tiny city-states independent of each other (see *Ancient Times*, § 38). Then a group of such city-states would gradually unite into a nation; but the organization of men had now reached the point where *many nations* were combined into an empire, including a large part of the early oriental world. The Egyptian Empire, during which the Pharaohs were really emperors, lasted from the early sixteenth century to the twelfth century B.C. — something over four hundred years.

FIG. 27. PORTRAIT OF THE NAPOLEON OF ANCIENT EGYPT, THUTMOSE III (FIFTEENTH CENTURY B.C.)

Carved in granite, and showing the great conqueror (§ 74) wearing the tall crown of Upper Egypt, with the sacred asp forming a serpent-crest above his forehead. Such portraits in the Empire can be compared with the actual faces of these Egyptian emperors as we have them in their mummies (Fig. 34), and they are thus shown to be good likenesses. See *Ancient Times*, Fig. 63

74. Campaigns of Thutmose III

The greatest of these emperors as a soldier and leader during all this period was Thutmose III (Fig. 27). This Napoleon of Egypt, as we may call him, ruled for over fifty years, beginning about 1500 B.C. He was the first great general in history. On the temple walls at Karnak we can read the story of nearly twenty years of warfare, during which Thutmose crushed the cities and kingdoms of Western Asia and united them into an enduring empire. At the same time he gave great attention to sea power. He built the first great navy in history. His war fleet carried his power even to the Ægean Sea, and one of his generals became governor of the Ægean islands.

Section 9. The Higher Life of the Empire and its Fall

75. Temple architecture

The wealth which the Pharaohs captured in Asia and Nubia during the Empire brought them power and magnificence unknown to the world before. All this was especially shown in their vast and splendid buildings. A new period in the history of art

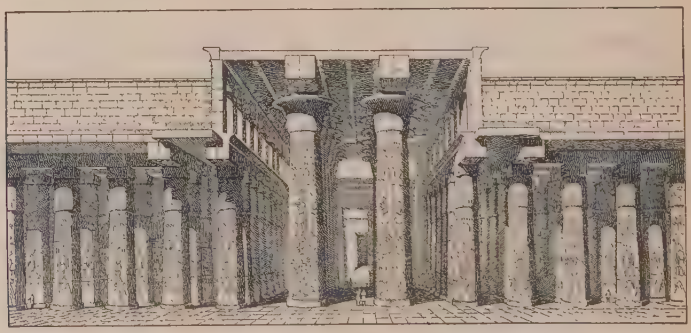


Fig. 28. Restoration of the Great Hall of Karnak, Ancient Thebes — Largest Building of the Egyptian Empire

With the wealth taken in Asia the Egyptian conquerors of the Empire enabled their architects to build the greatest colonnaded hall ever erected by man. It is three hundred and thirty-eight feet wide and one hundred and seventy feet deep, furnishing a floor area about equal to that of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, although this is only a single room of the temple. There are one hundred and thirty-six columns in sixteen rows. The nave (three central aisles) is seventy-nine feet high and contains twelve columns in two rows, which the architects have made much higher than the rest, in order to insert lofty windows on each side. These are called clerestory windows. In this form the clerestory passed over to Europe in the type of building called a *basilica* (§ 458, and Fig. 111, *D* and *E*), finally adopted as an early form for Christian churches. See Fig. 123

and architecture began. The temple of Karnak, which we have visited, contains the greatest colonnaded hall ever erected by man. The columns of the central aisle (Fig. 28) are sixty-nine feet high. The vast capital forming the summit of *each* column

FIG. 29. GIGANTIC PORTRAIT STATUES OF A PHARAOH OF THE EMPIRE AT THEBES (1400 B.C.)

They are seventy feet high and adorned the front of a temple which once stood behind them. The right-hand figure bears many inscriptions of eminent Greek and Roman visitors (see § 687). In the cliffs behind is the vast cemetery of Thebes (§§ 78–82), and in a valley (Fig. 35) behind these cliffs are the royal tombs in which the Pharaohs of the Empire were buried (Fig. 34)

FIG. 30. COLOSSAL PORTRAIT FIGURE OF RAMSES II AT ABU SIMBEL IN EGYPTIAN NUBIA

Four such statues, seventy five feet high, adorn the front of this temple. They are better preserved than those in Fig. 29, and show us that such vast figures were portraits. The face of Ramses II here really resembles that of his mummy. Grand view of the Nubian Nile, on which the statues have looked down for thirty two hundred years (see § 760. View taken from the top of the crown of one of the statues. (Photograph by The University of Chicago Expedition)

is large enough to contain a group of a hundred men standing crowded upon it at the same time. The fine, tall clerestory windows (Fig. 28) on each side of these giant columns show us the Egyptian clerestory hall as the ancestor of the basilica church of much later times (Fig. 123).

76. The surroundings of the Empire temples at Thebes

Such temples as these at Thebes were seen through the deep green of clustering palms, among towering obelisks and colossal statues of the Pharaohs (Fig. 29). The whole was bright with color, flashing at many a point with gold and silver. Mirrored in the unruffled surface of the temple lake, it made a picture of such splendor as the ancient world had never seen before. Thus grew up at Thebes the first great "monumental city" ever built by man — a city which as a whole was itself a vast and imposing monument.[1]

77. Painting and sculpture in the temples

Much of the grandeur of Egyptian architecture was due to the sculptor and the painter. The colonnades, with flower capitals, were colored to suggest the plants they represented. The vast battle scenes, carved on the temple wall (Fig. 26), were painted in bright colors. The portrait statues of the Pharaohs, set up before these temples, were often so large that they rose above the towers of the temple front itself, — the tallest part of the building, — and they could be seen for miles around (Figs. 29 and 30). The sculptors could cut these colossal figures from a single block, although they were sometimes eighty or ninety feet high and weighed as much as a thousand tons. This is a burden equal to a great transcontinental train of eleven steel sleeping cars each weighing ninety tons. Unlike the train, however, the statue was not cut up into smaller units, but had to be handled as a single vast burden. Nevertheless, the engineers of the Empire moved many such gigantic figures for hundreds of miles.[2] It is in works of this massive, monumental character that the art of Egypt excelled.

[1] City plans which treat a whole city as a symmetrical and harmonious unit are now beginning to be made in America.

[2] On the moving of such great burdens, see *Ancient Times*, Fig. 61.

78. Tombs of the great men of the Empire

Just as at Gizeh, so the cemetery at Thebes tells much of the life of the times which produced it. In the majestic western cliffs (Fig. 29) are cut hundreds of tomb-chapels belonging to the great men of the Empire. Here were buried the able generals who marched with the Pharaohs on their campaigns in Asia and in Nubia. Here lay the gifted artists and architects who built the vast monuments we have just visited. Here in these tomb-chapels we may read their names and often long accounts of their lives. Here, for example, is the story of the general who saved Thutmose III's life, in a great elephant hunt in Asia, by rushing in and cutting off the trunk of an enraged elephant which was pursuing the king.

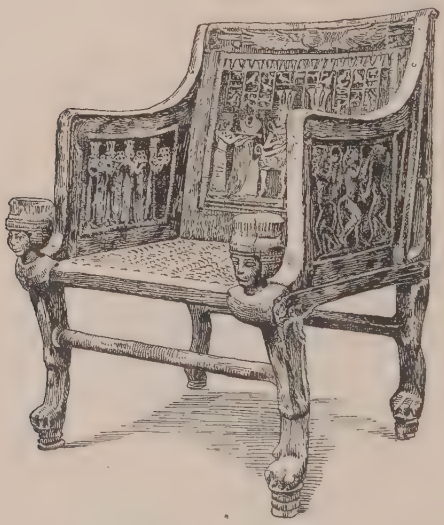


FIG. 31. ARMCHAIR FROM THE HOUSE OF AN EGYPTIAN NOBLE OF THE EMPIRE

This chair with other furniture from his house was placed in his tomb at Thebes in the early part of the fourteenth century B.C. There it remained for nearly thirty-three hundred years, till it was discovered in 1905 and removed to the National Museum at Cairo (§ 79)

79. The furniture and equipment of the Empire tombs

These tombs are wonderful treasuries of Egyptian art, for the very furniture which these great men used in their houses was put into their tombs. Many beautiful things, like chairs covered with gold and silver and fitted with soft leather cushions (Fig. 31), beds of sumptuous workmanship, jewel boxes and perfume caskets of the ladies (Fig. 32), or even the gold-covered chariot in

which the Theban noble took his afternoon airing, thirty-three or thirty-four hundred years ago, have been found in these tombs.[1] They may now be seen in the National Museum at Cairo.

80. Religion in the Empire

These tombs show us also how much farther the Egyptian had advanced in religion since the days of the pyramids of Gizeh. Each of these great men buried in the Theban cemetery looked forward to a judgment in the next world, where Osiris (§ 41) was the great judge and king. Every good man might rise from the dead as Osiris had done, but in the presence of Osiris he would be obliged to see his soul weighed in the balances over against the symbol of truth and justice (Fig. 33). The dead man's friends put into his coffin a roll of papyrus containing prayers and magic charms which would aid him in the hereafter, and among these was a picture of the judgment. This magical guidebook of the hereafter we now call the "Book of the Dead" (Fig. 33).

FIG. 32. JEWEL CASKET FROM THE HOUSE OF A NOBLE EGYPTIAN LADY OF THE EMPIRE

This lady was the wife of the owner of the chair (Fig. 31), and the casket was placed in the same tomb, where both the noble and his wife were buried. The casket is overlaid with red and blue incrustation of glaze in the brightest tones. The inscriptions contain the name of the king who gave the casket to the lady

81. Egyptian monotheism

Some of the leading Egyptians of the Empire finally gained the belief in a single god to the exclusion of all others. Such a

[1] See also the oldest known clock found in a tomb of this age, in *Ancient Times*, Fig. 74.

belief we call monotheism (see § 182). Ikhnaton, the greatest of their kings, endeavored to make this belief in one god the religion of the whole Empire, but the opposition of the priests and the people was too strong, and he perished in the attempt.

82. Decline of the Egyptian Empire

FIG. 33. JUDGMENT SCENE FROM THE "BOOK OF THE DEAD"

At the left we see entering, in white robes, the deceased, a man named Ani, and his wife. Before them are the balances of judgment for weighing the human heart, to determine whether it is just or not. A kneeling jackal-headed god adjusts the balances, while an Ibis-headed god stands behind him, pen in hand, ready to record the verdict of the balances. Behind him is a monster with head of a crocodile, fore quarters of a lion, and hind quarters of a hippopotamus, ready to devour the unjust soul. The small figure of a man at the left of the scales is the god of destiny, and behind him are two goddesses of birth. These three who presided over Ani's arrival in this world now stand by to watch the result of his life, as his heart (looking like a tiny jar), in the left-hand scalepan, is weighed over against right and truth (symbolized by a feather), in the right-hand scalepan. The scene is painted in water colors on papyrus. Such a roll is sometimes as much as ninety feet long and filled from beginning to end with magical charms for the use of the dead in the next world. Hence the modern name for the whole roll, the "Book of the Dead" (see § 80)

Serious religious conflicts at home had thus greatly weakened Egypt by the middle of the fourteenth century (1350) B.C. After it had recovered itself somewhat, the great Pharaohs Seti I (Fig. 34) and his son Ramses II (Fig. 30) partially restored the old splendor. Their two reigns covered almost a century (ending about 1225 B.C.). They fought great wars in Asia, but they were unable to restore the Empire to its former extent and power. Their most powerful enemies were at first the Hittites of Asia Minor (§§ 206–208).

Then more dangerous foes arose. We find them pictured in the temple sculptures, such as we have seen (Fig. 26), and it is interesting to discover that these new enemies are many of them Europeans from the northern Mediterranean lands, where we left them (§ 16) in the Late Stone Age. These northerners finally entered Egypt in such numbers after 1200 B.C. that the weakened Egyptian Empire fell (about 1150 B.C.). Egypt never again recovered her old power and leadership.

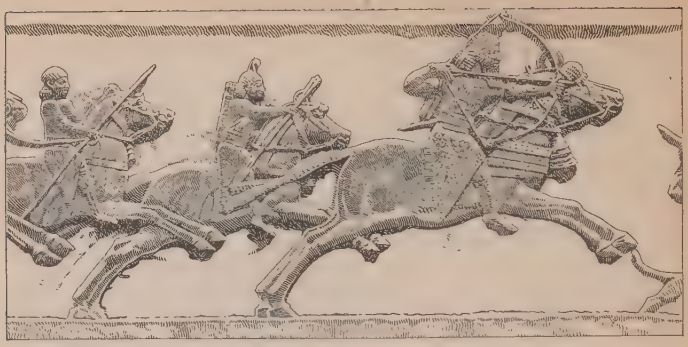
83. Fall of the Egyptian Empire (1150 B.C.). Earliest historic Europeans

FIG. 34. BODY OF SETI I AS HE LIES IN HIS COFFIN IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM AT CAIRO

This king lived in the Empire in the fourteenth century B.C. He was buried in the valley shown in Fig. 35. His successors, being unable to protect his body and those of other emperors from tomb robbers, hid them all in a large secret chamber excavated near the valley in the eleventh century B.C. Here the bodies lay unmolested for about three thousand years, until they were discovered and brought forth in 1881

Thus ends the story of the Empire at Thebes. The pyramids, tombs, and temples along the Nile have told us the history of early Egypt in three epochs: the Pyramids of Gizeh and the neighboring cemeteries of Memphis have told us about the *Pyramid Age*; the cliff-tombs, which we found on the Nile voyage, have revealed the history of the *Feudal Age*; and the temples and cliff-tombs of Thebes have given us the story of the *Empire*. The Nile has become for us a great volume of history. As we look *backward*, however, let us remember that, preceding these three great chapters of civilization on the Nile, we also found here the earlier story of how man passed from

84. The story told by the Nile voyage ended



CHAPTER III

WESTERN ASIA: BABYLONIA, ASSYRIA, AND CHALDEA

Section 10. The Lands and Races of Western Asia

88. Water boundaries of western Asia. Mountainous north; desert south

The westernmost regions of Asia form an irregular territory roughly included within water boundaries, chiefly the Caspian and Black seas on the north, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea on the west, and the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf on the south and east. It is a region consisting chiefly of mountains on the north and desert on the south. The earliest home of men in this great arena of Western Asia is a borderland mostly between desert and mountains, but also between desert and sea, — a kind of cultivable fringe of the desert; a fertile crescent having the mountains on one side and the desert on the other.

89. The Fertile Crescent

This fertile crescent is approximately a semicircle, with the open side toward the south, having the west end at the southeast corner of the Mediterranean, the center directly north of Arabia,

Note. The above scene is a relief picture carved in alabaster, which once, like Fig. 45, adorned an Assyrian palace. It shows us the terrible Assyrian horsemen (§ 123) engaged in hunting. They are the earliest skilled riders whom we find pictured on ancient monuments.

and the east end at the north end of the Persian Gulf (see map, p. 56). It lies like an army facing south, with one wing stretching along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, the other reaching out to the Persian Gulf, while the center has its back against the northern mountains. The end of the western wing is Palestine, Assyria makes up a large part of the center, while the end of the eastern wing is Babylonia. This great semicircle, for lack of a name, may be called the Fertile Crescent.[1]

90. The desert-bay

It may also be likened to the shores of a desert-bay, upon which the mountains behind look down — a bay, not of water but of sandy waste, some five hundred miles across, forming a northern extension of the Arabian desert and sweeping as far north as the latitude of the northeast corner of the Mediterranean. After the meager winter rains large portions of the northern desert-bay are covered with scanty grass, and spring thus turns the region for a short time into grasslands. The history of Western Asia may be described as an age-long struggle between the mountain peoples of the north and the desert wanderers of these grasslands — a struggle which is still going on — for the possession of the Fertile Crescent, the shores of the desert-bay.

91. The Arabian desert and the Semitic nomad

Arabia is totally lacking in rivers and enjoys but a few weeks of rain in midwinter; hence it is a desert very little of which is habitable. Its people are and have been from the remotest ages a great white race called Semites, made up of many peoples and tribes. With two of the Semitic peoples we are familiar, the Arabs, and the Hebrews whose descendants dwell among us. They all spoke and still speak slightly differing dialects of the same tongue. Hebrew was one of these dialects. For ages they have moved up and down the habitable portions of the Arabian world, seeking pasturage for their flocks and herds. Such wandering herdsmen are called *nomads*.[2]

[1] There is no general name, either geographical or political, which includes all of this great semicircle (see map, p. 56). Hence we are obliged to coin a term and call it the "Fertile Crescent."

[2] On the origin of nomads see *Ancient Times*, §§ 35–36.

92. Ceaseless shift of the nomad from the desert to the Fertile Crescent

From the earliest times, when the spring grass of the northern wilderness is gone, they have been constantly drifting in from the sandy sea upon the shores of the northern desert-bay. If they can secure a fitting place to live there, they slowly make the change from the *wandering* life of the desert nomad to the *settled* life of the agricultural peasant. We can see this process going on for thousands of years. Among such movements we are familiar with one important example, — the passage of the Hebrews from the desert into Palestine, as described in the Bible; and we shall later learn of a much more extensive example (§§ 781–785), the invasions of the Arab hosts of Islam, which even reached Europe.

93. Extension of the Semitic colonies

After they had adopted a settled town life the colonies of the Semites stretched far westward through the islands and along the shores of the Mediterranean, especially in northern Africa (for example, Carthage), even to southern Spain and the Atlantic (see diagram, Fig. 48). But it took many centuries for the long line of their settlements to creep slowly westward until it reached the Atlantic, and we must begin with the Semites in the desert.

94. Lack of institutions and industries among Semitic nomads of Arabia; traffic and the caravan

Out on the wide reaches of the desert there were no boundaries. The pasturage was as free as air to the first comer. No man of the tribe owned land. Such wandering herdsmen possessed only scanty, movable property, chiefly flocks and herds. They knew no law; they were unable to write. They were practically without industries, and thus the desert tribesmen led a life of unhampered freedom. Their needs obliged them to traffic now and then in the towns, and through such connections with the townsmen these desert wanderers often became the common carriers of the settled communities, fearlessly leading their caravans across the wastes of the desert-bay, especially between Syria-Palestine and Babylonia.

95. Religion of the nomad

The wilderness was the nomad's home. Its vast solitudes filled him with its seriousness and solemnity. His imagination peopled the far reaches of the desert with invisible and hostile

EUROPE
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
BALKAN MTS.
CAUCASUS MTS.
ASIA MINOR
HITTITE EMPIRE
ARMENIA
MEDIA
ASSYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
SYRIA
PERSIA
ARABIA
ARABIAN DESERT
DESERT
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
PERSIAN GULF
Troy
Mycenae
Tryns
Sardis
Crete
Cnossus
Cyprus
Hattusas
Halys
Boghaz-Köi
(Khatti)
IRON REGION
TAURUS MTS.
CILICIA
Carchemish
Haran
Mt. Sopus
Dur-Sharrukin
Sargonburg
Nineveh
Assur
Ecbatana
Behistun
Susa
Elam
Babylon
Ur
Sumer
Akkad
Byblos
Sidon
Damascus
Israel
Jerusalem
Dead Sea
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Nile Delta
Rosetta Mouth
Canal
Gizeh
Cairo
Memphis
Pen of Sinai
Oasis of Siwa
(Desert Shrine of Amon)
Beni Hasan Tombs
Amarna
Thebes
Gulf of Issus
Orontes R.
Grass Land
Rain Season Rainfall
Phoenicia
Canaan
Judah
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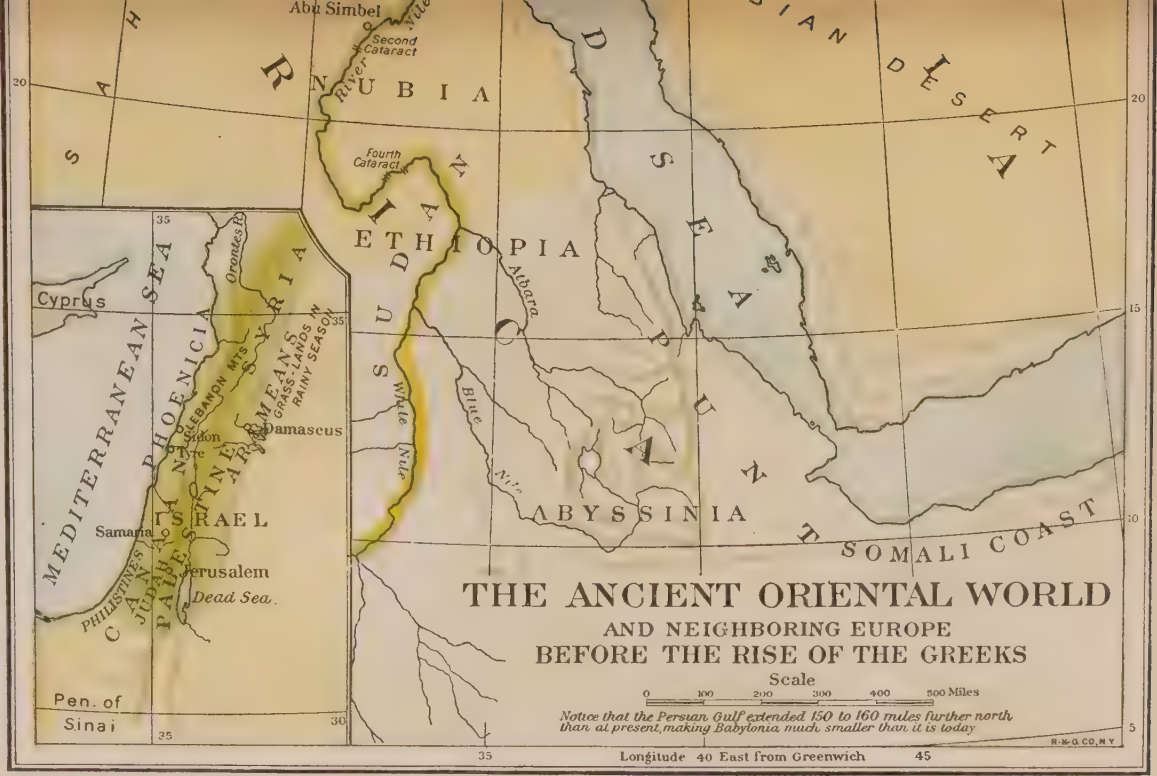


THE ANCIENT ORIENTAL WORLD

AND NEIGHBORING EUROPE BEFORE THE RISE OF THE GREEKS

Scale

0 100 200 300 400 500 Miles

Notice that the Persian Gulf extended 150 to 160 miles further north than at present, making Babylonia much smaller than it is today

Longitude 40 East from Greenwich

R-M-G CO., N.Y.

creatures, who inhabited every rock and tree, hilltop and spring. These creatures finally became his gods. He believed that each one of these beings controlled only a little corner of the desert; thus such a being became the nomads' *tribal* god and journeyed with them from pasture to pasture. The tribal god shared their food and their feasts, like a member of the tribe, and he received as his due from the tribesmen the first-born of their flocks and herds. The thoughts of the desert wanderers about their god were crude and barbarous, and their religious customs were often savage, even leading them to sacrifice their children to appease the angry god. On the other hand, the nomads had a dawning sense of justice and of right. Such feelings at last became lofty moral vision, which made the Semites the religious teachers of the civilized world. At the same time these Semites had practical gifts, especially in business, which made them the greatest merchants of the ancient world, as their Hebrew descendants among us still are at the present day.

96. The western Semites on the west end of the Fertile Crescent

As early as 3000 B.C. they were drifting in from the desert and settling in Palestine, on the *western* end of the Fertile Crescent, where we find them in possession of walled towns by 2500 B.C. (Fig. 52). Here they were the predecessors of the Hebrews, and they were called Canaanites; further north settled a powerful tribe known as Amorites. Later came the Arameans, who grew to be the greatest merchants throughout Western Asia.[1] Along the Mediterranean shores of north Syria some of these one-time desert wanderers took to the sea and became the Phœnicians (§§ 226–229). By 2000 B.C. all these settled communities of the Semites were in possession of much "town civilization," drawn for the most part from Egypt and Babylonia.

At the same time we can watch similar movements of the nomads at the *eastern* end of the Fertile Crescent, along the lower course of the Tigris and Euphrates (Fig. 36), which we

[1] On the remarkable achievements of the Arameans, especially how they spread the alphabet, see *Ancient Times*, §§ 203–208.

97. The east end of the Fertile Crescent: the "Two Rivers" and the three great chapters in their history

shall often speak of as the "Two Rivers." They rise in the northern mountains (see map, p. 56), whence they issue to cross the Fertile Crescent and to cut obliquely southeastward through the northern bay of the desert (§ 90). On these two great rivers of Western Asia developed the earliest civilization anywhere known in Asia. Just as on the Nile, so here on the Two Rivers, we shall find three great chapters in the story.

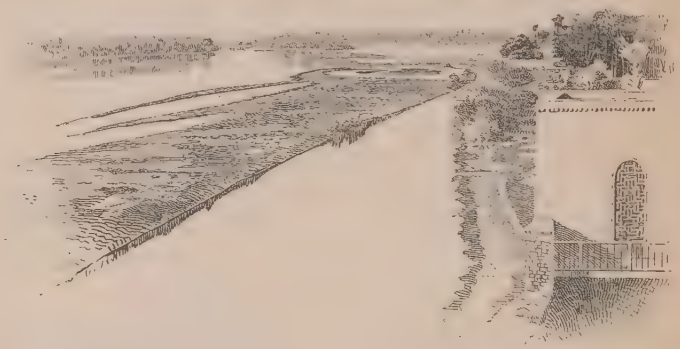


FIG. 36. THE EUPHRATES AT BABYLON IN WINTER

The winter rainfall (§ 99) is so slight that the river shrinks to a very low level and its bed is exposed and dry almost to the middle. In summer the rains and melting snows in the northern mountains swell the river till it overflows its banks and inundates the Babylonian plain. The house on the right is the dwelling of the archæological expedition engaged until 1917 in excavating Babylon

98. The Plain of Shinar (or Babylonia), the scene of the earliest chapter of Tigris-Euphrates history

As on the Nile, so also in Tigris-Euphrates history, the earliest of the three chapters will be found in the lower valley near the rivers' mouths. This earliest chapter is the story of Babylonia.[1] As the Two Rivers approach most closely to each other, about one hundred and sixty or seventy miles from the Persian Gulf,[2]

[1] The other two chapters of Tigris-Euphrates history were Assyria and the Chaldean Empire.

[2] This distance applies only to ancient Babylonian and Assyrian days. The rivers have since then filled up the Persian Gulf for one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty miles, and the gulf is that much shorter at the present day (see note under scale on map, p. 56, and see map, *Ancient Times*, p. 106).

they emerge from the desert and enter a low plain of fertile soil, formerly brought down by the rivers. This plain is Babylonia, the eastern end of the Fertile Crescent.

99. Area of the Plain of Shinar; its fertility

This plain was originally called Shinar. It was rarely more than forty miles wide, and contained probably less than eight thousand square miles of cultivable soil — roughly equal to the area of New Jersey or that of Wales. It lies in the Mediterranean belt of rainy winter and dry summer, but the rainfall is so scanty (less than three inches a year) that irrigation of the fields is required in order to ripen the grain. When properly irrigated the Plain of Shinar is prodigiously fertile, and the chief source of wealth in ancient Shinar was agriculture. This plain was the scene of the most important and long-continued of those frequent struggles between the mountaineer and the nomad, of which we have spoken.

Section 11. The Earliest Babylonians

100. Sumerian mountaineers enter the Plain of Shinar

We can find no relationship in race between the mountaineers and the Semitic nomads of the Arabian desert.[1] We find the mountaineers shown on monuments of stone as having shaven heads and wearing heavy woolen kilts (Fig. 41), and we know that they were a white race called Sumerians. Long before 3000 B.C. they had entered the Plain of Shinar and had reclaimed the marshes around the mouths of the Two Rivers. The southern section of the Plain of Shinar therefore came to be called Sumer, after the Sumerians.

101. Their material civilization

Their settlements of low mud-brick huts soon crept northward along the Euphrates. Gradually they learned to dig irrigation trenches, and to reap large harvests of barley and split wheat (see *Ancient Times*, p. 38, footnote). They already possessed

1 On the other hand, although the mountaineers were certainly white races, they exhibited no relationship to the Indo-European group of peoples who were already spreading through the country north and east of the Caspian at a very early date. The Indo-European peoples, from whom we ourselves have descended, are discussed in Section 15.

FIG. 37. EARLY SUMERIAN CLAY TABLET WITH CUNEIFORM, OR WEDGE-FORM, WRITING (TWENTY-EIGHTH CENTURY B.C.)

This tablet was written toward the close of the early period of the city-kings (§ 106), a generation before the accession of Sargon I (§ 107). It contains business accounts. The scribe's writing reed, or *stylus*, was usually square-tipped. He pressed a corner of this square tip into the soft clay for *each line* of the picture sign. Lines so produced tended to be broad at one end and pointed at the other, that is, wedge-shaped. Each picture sign thus became a group of wedges as shown in *Ancient Times*, Fig. 80. When the clay dried it was hard enough to make the tablet a fairly permanent record. Such tablets were sometimes baked and thus became as hard as pottery. (By permission of Dr. Hussey)

cattle, sheep, and goats. The ox drew the plow: the donkey pulled *wheeled* carts and chariots, and the wheel as a burden-bearing device appeared here for the first time.[1] But the horse was still unknown. The smith had learned to fashion utensils

[1] Probably earlier than the wheel in the Swiss lake-villages of the Late Stone Age (§ 13).

of copper. But he did not at first know how to harden the copper into bronze by admixture of tin (p. 32, n. 1).

102. Sumerian wedge-form writing

Trade and government taught these people to make records, scratched in rude pictures with the tip of a reed on a flat piece of soft clay. Speed in writing simplified these pictures into groups of wedge-shaped marks, once the lines of the picture (Fig. 37). Hence these signs are called cuneiform, meaning "wedge-form," writing (Latin *cuneus*, "wedge"). This writing was phonetic, but did not possess alphabetic signs.

103. Sumerian numerals and weights

The Sumerian system of numerals was not based on tens, but had the unit sixty as a basis. A large number was given as so many sixties, just as we employ a score (fourscore, five-score). From this unit of sixty has descended our division of the circle (six sixties) and of the hour and minute. The leading unit of weight which they used was a *mina*, divided into sixty shekels. The mina had the weight of our pound, and commerce with the Orient at last brought this measure of weight to us, though under another name.

104. The Sumerian temple-tower and religion

Almost in the center of the Plain of Shinar rose a tall tower. It was of sun-dried brick, for there was no stone in all Babylonia. It was the dwelling of Enlil, the great Sumerian god of the air. The tower served as an artificial mountain, probably built in memory of some ancient temple on a hilltop in their former mountain home. Similar towers became common in the Plain of Shinar and it was such a temple-tower in Babylon which later gave rise to the story of the "Tower of Babel" among the Hebrews. The Sumerian temple-tower was the ancestor of our church steeple (*Ancient Times*, Fig. 272). Such "nature gods" as Enlil, god of the air, played a great part in Sumerian life; and the temple in each community was the center of the town.[1]

Around the temple extended the houses of the townspeople. They were bare rectangular dwellings of sun-dried brick

[1] A fuller statement of Sumerian religion will be found in *Ancient Times*, §§ 152–155.

105. The Sumerian house and town and the mounds of to-day

(Fig. 38). The town was at first only a few hundred feet across. It slowly spread out, although it still remained very limited in extent. Such a town is to-day a mound of earth and crumbled sun-dried brick, in which lie buried the clay-tablet records of the ancient community which once lived there. When we dig out such a mound, we therefore find it a rich storehouse of things which tell us much about ancient Babylonian civilization, the story of which we are now to follow (see *Ancient Times*, §§158–165, and Figs. 83, 84).

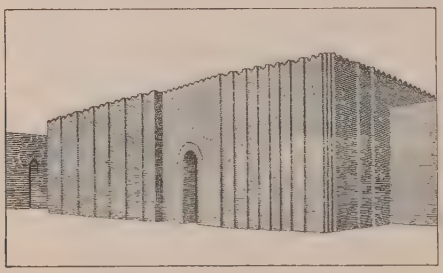


FIG. 38. RESTORATION OF AN EARLY BABYLONIAN HOUSE. (AFTER KOLDEWEY)

The towns of the early Babylonians were small and were chiefly made of such sun-baked-brick houses as these. Their simple adornment consisted only of vertical panels and a stepped ("crenelated") edge at the top of the wall. In course of time the rains washed down the unbaked-brick walls, and as such houses fell the whole town formed an ancient city mound. Few such mounds of ancient Sumer have been excavated (see *Ancient Times*, Figs. 83, 84)

106. Period of the Sumerian city-kingdoms (about 3050–2750 B.C.)

In the clay tablets found in these mounds we read of a class of free, land-holding citizens, working their lands with slaves, and trading with caravans and small boats up and down the river. Over both these classes, free and slave, there was a numerous body of officials and priests — the aristocrats of the town. They were ruled, along with all the rest, by a priest-king. Such a community owned the fields for a few miles round about the town. The whole, that is, the town and its fields, formed the political unit, or state, which we call a *city-kingdom*. Sumer as a whole consisted of a number of such small city-kingdoms, and this earliest Sumerian period may be called the Age of the City-Kingdoms.

These little Asiatic states were more skilled in war (Fig. 39) than the Egyptians and were constantly fighting each with its neighbors. These struggles among themselves seriously weakened the Sumerians and made them less able to resist the incoming men of the desert.

107. The desert Semites likewise invade the plain; Sargon of Akkad — earliest Semitic supremacy (about 2750 B.C.)

The Semitic tribesmen from the desert had early begun to migrate into the Plain of Shinar, north of Sumer. By the

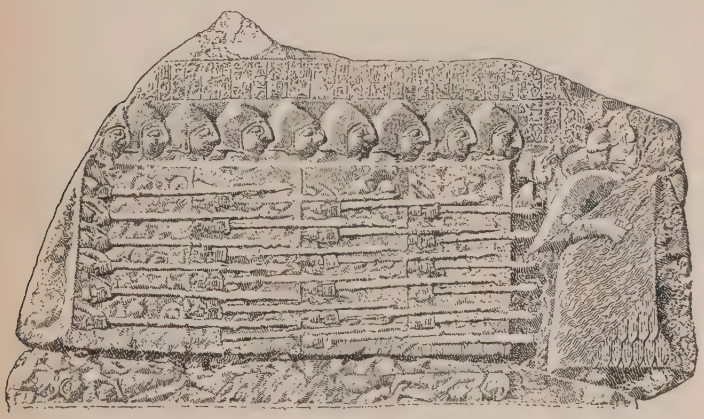


FIG. 39. A SUMERIAN LINE OF BATTLE

The troops of a Sumerian city-king, marching into battle, about 2900 B.C. The king himself, whose face is broken off from the stone, marches at the right, heading his troops, who follow in a close phalanx, with spears set for the charge. Tall shields cover their entire bodies, and they wear close-fitting helmets, probably of leather. They are marching over dead bodies (symbolical of the overthrow of the enemy). The scene is carved in stone. It is a good example of the rude Sumerian sculpture in Babylonia in the days of the Great Pyramid in Egypt (contrast with Figs. 22 and 40)

middle of the twenty-eighth century B.C. they had established a kingdom there known as Akkad. This region of Akkad comprised chiefly the narrow strip of land where the Two Rivers approach each other most closely (see map, p. 56). These men of Akkad, or Akkadians, under a bold and able leader named

FIG. 40. A KING OF AKKAD STORMING A FORTRESS — THE EARLIEST GREAT SEMITIC WORK OF ART (ABOUT 2700 B.C.)

King Narim-Sin of Akkad, one of the successors of Sargon I (§ 107), has pursued the enemy into a mountain stronghold. His heroic figure towers above his pygmy enemies, each one of whom has fixed his eyes on the conqueror, awaiting his signal of mercy. The sculptor, with fine insight, has depicted the dramatic instant when the king lowers his weapon as the sign that he grants the conquered their lives. Compare the superiority of this *Semitic* sculpture of Akkad over the *Sumerian* art of two centuries earlier (Fig. 39)

Sargon, descended the Euphrates and conquered the Sumerians. Thus arose the first Semitic kingdom of importance in history, and Sargon I, its founder (2750 B.C.), is the first great name in the history of the Semitic race.

Sargon's conquests forced his nomad tribesmen (the Akkadians) to make a complete change in their manner of life. We

FIG. 41. A SEMITIC NOBLE AND HIS SUMERIAN SECRETARY (TWENTY-SEVENTH CENTURY B.C.)

The third figure (wearing a cap) is that of the noble, Ubil-Ishtar, who is brother of the king. He is a Semite, as his beard shows. Three of his four attendants are also Semites, with beards and long hair; but one of them (just behind the noble) is beardless and shaven-headed. He is the noble's secretary, for being a Sumerian he is skilled in writing. His name "Kalki" we learn from the inscription in the corner, which reads, "Ubil-Ishtar, brother of the king; Kalki, the scribe, thy servant." This inscription is in the *Semitic* (Akkadian) tongue of the time and illustrates how the Semites have learned the Sumerian signs for writing. The scene is engraved on Kalki's personal seal, of which the above is a drawing. It is a fine example of the Babylonian art of seal-cutting in hard stone. The original is in the British Museum

108. The Semitic Akkadians adopt Sumerian civilization

may best picture the change if we say that they forsook their desert tents and built houses of sun-dried brick (Fig. 38), which could not be picked up every morning and set up somewhere else at night. At first they did not even know how to write, and they had no industries. Some of them now learned to write their Semitic tongue by using the Sumerian wedge-form signs for the purpose (Fig. 41). Then it was, therefore, that a *Semitic language* began to be written for the first time. The

Akkadians likewise learned Sumerian art, especially sculpture, in which they far surpassed their Sumerian teachers (Fig. 40). Thus the Akkadians adopted the civilization of the Sumerians whom they had conquered.

Section 12. The Age of Hammurapi and After

109. Hammurapi — the second Semitic supremacy

Centuries of struggle between the Sumerians and Semites ensued. Not long before 2200 B.C. a tribe of Amorites (§ 96) came in from the west and seized the little town of Babylon. Hammurapi, one of their later kings, fought for thirty years and conquered all Babylonia (about 2100 B.C.). Again the desert won, as this *second great Semitic ruler*, Hammurapi, raised Babylon, thus far a small and unimportant town, to be the leading city in the Plain of Shinar. Beginning with Hammurapi we may more properly call the plain "Babylonia."

110. Hammurapi's great ability as an organizer; his great code of laws

Hammurapi's surviving letters and his laws enable us to watch this great man as he put forth his powerful hand to control and organize the teeming life of Babylonia. He brought in order and system where before all had been confusion. He collected all the older laws and customs of business, legal, and social life and issued these in a great *code of laws*. He had these laws engraved upon a splendid shaft of diorite, which has survived to our day, the oldest preserved code of ancient law (Fig. 42). On the whole it is a surprisingly just code and shows much consideration for the poor and defenseless classes.

111. Expansion of Babylonian commerce, and spread of cuneiform writing

Thus regulated, Babylonia prospered as never before. Her merchants penetrated far and wide into the surrounding countries. The clay-tablet bills in Babylonian writing (Fig. 37) which accompanied their heavily loaded caravans had to be read by many a merchant in the towns of Syria and behind the northern mountains. Thus the wedge-writing of Babylonia gradually spread through Western Asia. There was as yet no coined money, but lumps of silver of a given weight circulated so commonly (p. 92) that values were given in *weight* of silver.

Thus a man might say an ox was worth so many ounces of silver, only he would use "shekels" (the name of a weight) in place of ounces. Loans were common, and the rate of interest was twenty per cent. Babylonian civilization was above all things mercantile. Merchandising was the chief occupation and was even carried on in the temples.

The temples were trading centers, owning much property, carrying on banking, and controlling a large part of the business of the people. Nevertheless there were some indications of higher desires in religion. The ritual of the temples contained a small group of prayers which indicate a deep sense of sin; but the chief teachings of religion showed a man how to

112. Higher life of Babylonia: temples and religion

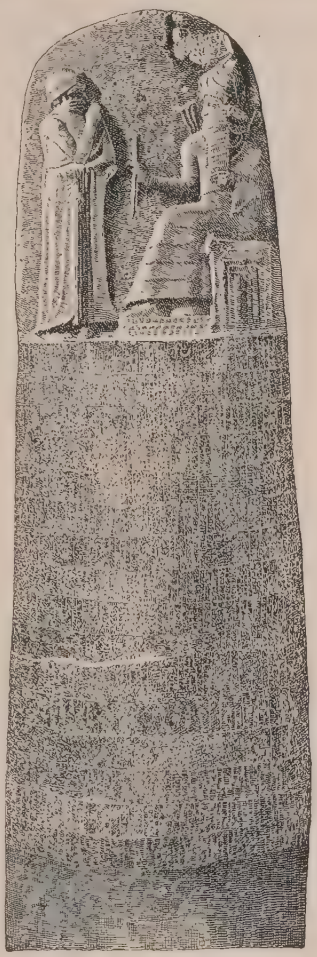


FIG. 42. THE LAWS OF HAMMURAPI, THE OLDEST SURVIVING CODE OF LAWS (2100 B. C.)*

* A shaft of stone (diorite), nearly eight feet high, on which the laws are engraved. They extend entirely around the shaft, occupying over thirty-six hundred lines. Above is a fine relief showing King Hammurapi standing at the left, receiving the laws from the Sun-god seated at the right. The flames rising from the god's shoulders indicate who he is. The flames on the left shoulder are commonly shown in the current textbooks as part of a staff in the god's left hand. This is an error. This scene is an impressive work of Semitic art, six hundred years later than Fig. 40

obtain prosperity from the gods and how to avoid their displeasure. Among such teachings were methods of foretelling the future by reading the stars. This art, now called "astrology," formed the beginnings of astronomy (§§ 137–138).

113. Higher life of Babylonia: art, architecture, education

A journey through Babylonia to-day could not tell us such a story as we found among the monuments on our voyage up the Nile; for the Babylon of Hammurapi has perished utterly. There seems to have been no painting; the sculpture of the Semites is in one instance (Fig. 40) powerful and dramatic, but the portrait sculptor was scarcely able to make one individual different from another. Of architecture little remains. There were no colonnades and no columns. The main lines were all *straight* verticals and horizontals, but the *arch* was used over front doorways (Fig. 38). All buildings were of brick, as Babylonia had no stone. The chief architectural creation was the temple-tower (as in Fig. 43), but of the temples no example has survived. The beautiful gem-cutting of the Babylonians, as we find it in their seals, was their greatest art (see Fig. 41 and especially *Ancient Times*, Fig. 106, *A*). There were schools where boys could learn to write cuneiform, and a schoolhouse of Hammurapi's time still survives, though in ruins (*Ancient Times*, Fig. 95).

114. Fall of Hammurapi's line and stagnation of Babylonian civilization

After Hammurapi's death his kingdom swiftly declined. Barbarians from the mountains poured into the Babylonian plain. The most important thing about them was that they brought with them the horse, which then appeared for the first time in Babylonia (twenty-first century B.C.). They divided and soon destroyed the kingdom of Hammurapi. After him there followed more than a thousand years of complete stagnation. Progress in civilization entirely stopped, and there was no revival until the triumph of the Chaldeans (Section 14).

115. Summary and retrospect

As we look back over this first chapter of early human progress along the Two Rivers, we see that it lasted about a thousand years, beginning a generation or two before 3000 B.C. The Sumerian mountaineers laid the foundations of civilization

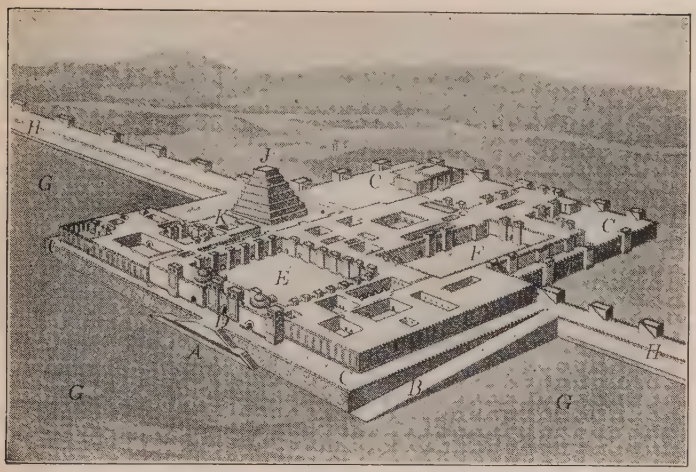


FIG. 43. RESTORATION OF THE PALACE OF SARGON II OF ASSYRIA (722–705 B.C.)

The city (*GGG*) was inclosed by a wall (*HH*), and was a mile square, with room for eighty thousand people. The palace building, covering twenty-five acres, stood partly inside and partly outside of the city wall (*HH*) on a vast elevated platform (*CCCC*) of brick masonry, to which an inclined roadway (*B*), and stairways (*A*) rise from the *inside* of the city wall. The king could thus drive up in his chariot from the streets of the city below (*GGG*) to the palace pavement above (*CCCC*). The rooms and halls are clustered about a number of courts (*EF*) open to the sky. The main entrance (*D*, with stairs (*A*) before it leading down to the city) is adorned with massive towers and arched doorways built of richly colored glazed brick, and embellished with huge human-headed bulls carved of alabaster (see tailpiece, p. 81, also Figs. 44, 45). The pyramidal tower (*J*) behind the great court was inherited from Babylonia (§ 104). A better view of such a tower will be found in *Ancient Times*, p. 170. It was a sacred dwelling place of the god, and his temple (with two others) stands just at the foot of the tower on the left (*K*)

in Shinar and began a thousand-year struggle with the Semites of the desert. In spite of the mingling and union of the two races, the Semites triumphed twice under two great leaders, Sargon (2750 B.C.) and Hammurapi (2100 B.C.). The Sumerians then disappeared, and the language of Babylonia became

Semitic. The reign of Hammurapi marked the highest point and the end of the thousand-year development — the conclusion of the first great chapter of history along the Two Rivers. The scene of the second chapter will carry us up the river valley, just as it did in our study of the Nile.

Section 13. The Assyrian Empire (about 750 to 606 B.C.)

116. Origin and situation of Assur

The second chapter of history along the Two Rivers carries us upriver from Babylonia to the northeast corner of the desert-bay (see map, p. 56). In this region as early as 3000 B.C. a tribe of desert Semites had founded a little city-kingdom called Assur. This is the earliest form of our word "Assyria." Assur was an upland country with many fertile valleys and an agricultural population. In climate it was cooler and more invigorating than the hot Babylonian plain.

117. Language, writing, and civilization

The Assyrians, as we may call the people of Assur, spoke a Semitic dialect (§ 91) differing only very slightly from that of Babylonia. Having given up their wanderings as herdsmen, the Assyrians learned *town* life from the Sumerians, and received their earliest civilization from Sumer. Hence they learned to write their language with Babylonian cuneiform signs (Fig. 37). They were constantly obliged to defend their frontiers against both their own kindred of the desert on one side and the mountaineers on the other. Thus the Assyrians were toughened by the strain of frequent wars.

118. Expansion of the Assyrians; foundation of the Empire, eighth century B.C.

Gradually the Assyrians conquered much additional territory all around their once little city-kingdom. By 1100 B.C. their peasant militia had beaten the western kings in Syria, where the Egyptian Empire had fallen two generations earlier (§ 83). There Assyrian soldiers for the first time saw the Mediterranean. Although often repulsed, Assyria had firmly established herself along the Mediterranean by the middle of the eighth century B.C. She had also subdued Babylonia, so

that the Assyrian Empire finally held the entire Fertile Crescent, and the mountains on the north of it, almost to the Black and the Caspian seas. They finally conquered even Egypt also and held it for a short time. Thus the once feeble little city of Assur gained the lordship over Western Asia, as head of an *empire*: a great group of conquered and vassal nations (§ 73). It was the most extensive empire the world had thus far seen (see Map II in *Ancient Times*, p. 188).

119. Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 B.C.)

In 722 B.C. one of the leading Assyrian generals usurped the throne, and as king he took the name of Sargon, the first great Semite of Babylonia, who had reigned two thousand years earlier (§ 107). As Sargon II he raised Assyria to the height of her grandeur and power as a military empire. His descendants were the great emperors of Assyria.[1] On the northeast of Nineveh he built a new royal residence (Fig. 43) on a vaster scale and more magnificent than any Asia had ever seen before. He called it *Dur-Sharrukin* (Sargonburg). Babylonia in her greatest days had never possessed a capital like this.

120. Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.). Nineveh, the capital

The grandeur of Sargon II was even surpassed by his son Sennacherib, one of the great statesmen of the early Orient. He devoted himself to the city of Nineveh, north of Assur, and it now became the far-famed capital of Assyria. Along the Tigris the vast palaces (like Fig. 43) and imposing temple-towers of the Assyrian emperors arose, reign after reign. The lofty and massive walls of Nineveh which Sennacherib built, stretched two miles and a half along the banks of the Tigris, marked at the present day by a great group of mounds (*Ancient Times*, Fig. 203). Here in his gorgeous palace he ruled the Western Asiatic world with an iron hand and collected tribute from all the subject peoples.

1 The leading Assyrian emperors of the dynasty of Sargon II are as follows:

Sargon II	722–705 B.C.
Sennacherib	705–681 B.C.
Esarhaddon	681–668 B.C.
Assurbanipal (called Sardanapalus by the Greeks)	668–626 B.C.

121. Organization of the Assyrian Empire

The government of this empire centered in the king's business office. Here the emperor received the letters and reports of some sixty governors over districts and provinces, besides many subject kings who were sometimes allowed to continue their rule under Assyrian control. To maintain the army was the chief work of the State. The State was therefore a vast military machine, more terrible than any mankind had ever yet seen (Fig. 44). We shall understand this situation if we imagine that our war department were the central office in Washington, and that our government should devote itself chiefly to supporting it.

122. The Assyrian Empire and the Iron Age

An important new fact aided in bringing about this result. From the Hittites (see map, p. 56), iron had been introduced among the Assyrians. The Assyrian forces were therefore *the first large armies equipped with weapons of iron*. A single arsenal room of Sargon II's palace was found to contain two hundred tons of iron implements. To a certain extent the rise of the Assyrian Empire was one of the results of the incoming of iron.

123. The arms of the Assyrians; their siege machinery and methods

The bulk of the Assyrian army was composed of archers, supported by heavy-armed spearmen and shield bearers (Fig. 44). Besides these, the famous horsemen and chariotry of Nineveh became the scourge of the East (Fig. 45, and headpiece, p. 54). For the first time too the Assyrians employed powerful siege machinery, especially the battering-ram. This machine was the earliest "tank," for it ran on wheels and carried armed men (see *Ancient Times*, p. 140). The sun-dried-brick walls of the Asiatic cities could thus be battered down, and no fortified place could long repulse the assaults of the fierce Assyrian infantry. Besides their iron weapons and their war machines the Assyrian soldiers displayed a certain inborn ferocity which held all Western Asia in abject terror.[1] Wherever the terrible Assyrian armies swept through the land, they left a trail of ruin and desolation behind, and there were few towns of the Empire which escaped being plundered.

[1] See Nahum iii, 2–3.

FIG. 44. ASSYRIAN SOLDIERS PURSUING THE FLEEING ENEMY ACROSS A STREAM

The stream occupies the right half of the scene. As drawn by the Assyrian artist, it may be recognized by the fish and the curling waves; also by the bows and quivers full of arrows floating downstream, along with the bodies of two dead horses, one on his back with feet up. Two dead men, with arrows sticking in their bodies, are drifting in midstream. Three of the living leap from the bank as their pursuers stab them with spears or shoot them with drawn bow. The Assyrian spearmen carry tall shields, but the archer needs both hands for his bow and carries no shield. The dead are strewn along the shore, occupying the left half of the scene. At the top the vultures are plucking out their eyes; in the middle an Assyrian is cutting off a head; beside him another plants his foot on a dead man's head and plunders him of his weapons. The vegetation along the river is shown among the bodies. As art, compare this sculpture with Semitic relief two thousand years older (Fig. 40 and see § 125)

124. Civilization of the Assyrian Empire: architecture

While this plundered wealth was necessary for the support of the army, it also served higher purposes. As we have seen (Fig. 43), the Assyrian palaces were now imposing buildings, suggesting by their size and splendor the far-reaching power

of their builders. In the hands of the Assyrian architects the arch, inherited from Babylonia, for the first time became an imposing monumental feature of architecture. The impressive triple arches of the Assyrian palace entrance (Fig. 43, *D*) were the ancestor of the Roman triumphal arches (Fig. 112). They were faced with glazed brick in gorgeous colors, and on either side were vast human-headed bulls wrought in alabaster. The

FIG. 45. AN ASSYRIAN KING HUNTING LIONS

The king stands in the chariot, while his driver urges the horses (notice loose reins and whip) at full gallop. The king draws his bow to the arrowhead and discharges arrows full into the face of an enraged lion just leaping into the chariot. Three foot soldiers follow behind, and another lion with body full of arrows sinks down to die. A fine example of the Assyrian sculptor's skill in drawing animals. Such scenes as this and Fig. 44 (also headpiece, p. 54) were carved on large slabs of stone (alabaster), and in long bands they stretched for hundreds of feet along the base of the walls of halls and corridors of an Assyrian palace (Fig. 43)

Assyrian palaces were the first buildings to employ great monumental stairways at the entrance (Fig. 43, *A*). Thus the architects of the Assyrian emperors produced the first magnificent monumental buildings that appeared in Asia.

125. Civilization of the Assyrian Empire: sculpture

Within the palace, as a dado running along the lower portion of the walls, were hundreds of feet of relief pictures cut in alabaster (see Figs. 44 and 45, and headpiece of Chapter III, p. 54). They display especially the great deeds of the emperor in war and hunting wild beasts. The human figures are

monotonously alike, hard, cold, and unfeeling. Nowhere is there a human form which shows any trace of feeling, either joy or sorrow, pleasure or pain. The Assyrian sculptor's wild beasts, however, are sometimes magnificent in the animal ferocity which they display (see *Ancient Times*, Fig. 106, *B*). The tiger was in the blood of the Assyrian, and it came out in the work of his chisel (Fig. 45). The art of portraiture in statue form never got beyond very crude and unskillful efforts.

126. Assyrian borrowing from abroad; introduction of cotton

The emperors were obliged to depend much on the skill of foreigners both in art and industries. It is in this ability to use foreign resources that we must recognize one of the greatest traits of the Assyrian emperors. In the fine gardens which Sennacherib laid out along the river above and below Nineveh he planted strange trees and plants from all quarters of his great empire. Among them were cotton trees, of which he says, "The trees that bore wool they clipped and they carded it for garments." These cotton trees came from India. We thus see appearing for the first time in the ancient world the cotton which now furnishes so large a part of our own national wealth.

127. Assurbanipal's library

Higher interests were also cultivated among the Assyrians, and literature flourished. Assurbanipal, grandson of Sennacherib, and the last great Assyrian emperor, boasted that his father had instructed him not only in riding and shooting with bow and arrow but also in writing on clay tablets and in all the wisdom of his time. A great collection of twenty-two thousand clay tablets was discovered in Assurbanipal's fallen library rooms at Nineveh, where they had been lying on the floor covered with rubbish for twenty-five hundred years. They are now in the British Museum (see *Ancient Times*, Fig. 109). In this library the religious, scientific, and literary works of past ages had been systematically collected by the emperor's orders. They formed the earliest library known in Asia. The Assyrians were far more advanced in these matters than the Babylonians, and Assyrian civilization was far from being a mere echo of Babylonian culture, as most historians have thought.

128. Internal decay; economic and agricultural decline

Like many another later ruler, however, the Assyrian emperors made a profound mistake in their method of governing their empire. The industries were destroyed and the farms left idle to supply men for a great *standing* army. Even so the Empire had grown so large that the army was unable to defend it. As reports of foreign invasions and new revolts came in, the harassed ruler at Nineveh forced the subjects of his foreign vassal kingdoms to enter the army. With an army made up to a dangerous extent of such foreigners, with the commerce of the country also in the hands of foreigners, with no industries, and with fields lying idle,—under these conditions the Assyrian nation fast lost its inner strength.

129. Assaults from without: the Chaldeans from the desert; Indo-European peoples from the mountains

In addition to such weakness within, there were the most threatening dangers from without. These came, as of old, from both sides of the Fertile Crescent. Especially dangerous was a desert tribe called the "Kaldi," whom we know as the Chaldeans. They had been for centuries creeping slowly around the head of the Persian Gulf and settling along its shores at the foot of the eastern mountains. On the other hand, in the northern mountains the advancing hordes of Indo-European peoples were in full view (see Section 15), led by the tribes of the Medes and Persians (§ 147). The Chaldeans mastered Babylonia, and then, in combination with the Median hosts from the northeastern mountains, they assailed the walls of Nineveh.

130. Fall of Assyria; destruction of Nineveh (606 B.C.)

Weakened by a generation of decline within, and struggling vainly against this combined assault from without, the mighty city of the Assyrian emperors fell (606 B.C.). In the voice of the Hebrew prophet Nahum (ii, 8, 13, and iii entire), we hear an echo of the exulting shout which resounded from the Caspian to the Nile as the nations discovered that the terrible scourge of the East had at last been laid low. Its fall was forever, and when two centuries later Xenophon and his ten thousand Greeks marched past the place (§ 399), the Assyrian nation was but a vague tradition, and Nineveh, its great city, was a vast heap of rubbish as it is to-day (see *Ancient*

Times, Fig. 203). The second great chapter of history on the Two Rivers was ended, having lasted but a scant century and a half (about 750 to 606 B.C.).

131. Progress effected by the Assyrian Empire

The Empire of Assyria had greatly altered the nations of Western Asia. The rule of a single sovereign had been forced upon the whole great group of nations around the eastern end of the Mediterranean, and the methods of organizing such an empire had been much improved. It was really in continuance of this organization that the much greater Persian Empire was built up (Section 17), sixty years after the fall of Assyria. In spite of its often ferocious harshness, the Assyrian rule had furthered civilization. We have seen that the building of the magnificent palaces in and near Nineveh formed the first chapter in great architecture in Asia. At the same time Nineveh possessed the first libraries as yet known there. These civilized achievements of the Assyrian Empire led naturally to the wonderful culture of the Chaldeans at Babylon, which formed the third and last chapter of ancient civilization on the Two Rivers.

Section 14. The Chaldean Empire: the Last Semitic Empire

132. Rise of the Chaldean Empire (606 B.C.)

The Kaldi, or Chaldeans, the new masters of Babylonia, divided the Assyrian Empire with the Medes. While they left the Medes in possession of the northern mountains, the Chaldeans took as their empire the entire Fertile Crescent. The brief career of the Chaldean Empire formed the third great chapter of history on the Two Rivers.[1] The Chaldeans made

[1] The three great chapters of history on the Two Rivers are:

1. Early Babylonia (thirty-first century to twenty-first century B.C.; Sargon I about 2750 B.C., Hammurapi about 2100 B.C.). See Sections 11–12.
2. The Assyrian Empire (about 750 to 606 B.C.). See Section 13.
3. The Chaldean Empire (about 606 to 539 B.C.). See Section 14.

With the exception of parts of the first, these three epochs were periods of *Semitic* power. To these we might in later times add a *fourth* period of Semitic supremacy, the triumph of Islam in the seventh century of our era, after the death of Mohammed (Section 79).

their capital at Babylon and gave their name to the land, so that we now know it as Chaldea (from "Kaldi"). They were the last Semitic lords of Babylonia in ancient times.

133. Reign of Nebuchadnezzar (604–561 B.C.)

At Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar, the greatest of the Chaldean emperors, thereupon began a reign of over forty years, — a reign of such power and magnificence, especially as narrated in the Bible, that he has become one of the great figures of

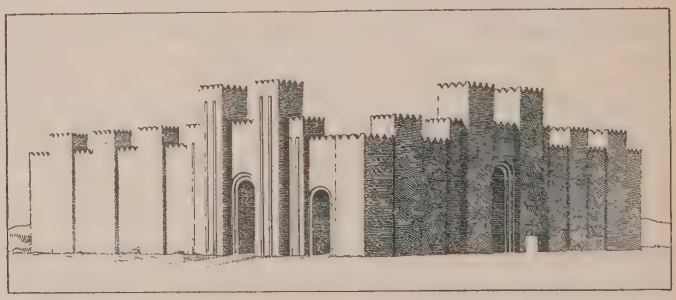


FIG. 46. RECONSTRUCTION OF A TEMPLE OF BABYLON IN THE CHALDEAN EMPIRE. (AFTER KOLDEWEY)

The building was of sun-baked brick; as the dwelling of a god, it shows the same architecture as the dwelling of man, and there was no advance over the architecture of the old Babylonian house (Fig. 38) of two thousand years earlier. In contrast with the Egyptian temples, it employed the arch over all doors and contained no colonnades. No such temple now stands in Babylon, and the drawing is a restoration

oriental history. It was he who carried away many Hebrews from Palestine to Babylonia as captives and destroyed Jerusalem, their capital (586 B.C.).

134. Nebuchadnezzar's magnificent buildings at Chaldean Babylon

Copying much from Assyria, Nebuchadnezzar was able to surpass even his Assyrian predecessors in the splendor of the great buildings which he now erected at Babylon. Leading from the temples (Fig. 46) to the palace, he laid out a festival avenue which passed through an imposing gateway called the "Gate of Ishtar" (Fig. 47), for it was dedicated to this goddess (see Plan, *Ancient Times*, p. 165). High over all towered the

temple-mount which rose by the temple of their greatest god Marduk, — a real "Tower of Babel" (see § 104).

Masses of rich tropical verdure, rising in terrace above terrace, crowned the roof of the gorgeous imperial palace (headpiece, p. 82), forming lofty roof gardens. Here in the cool shade of palms and ferns, the great king might enjoy his idle hours, looking down upon the splendors of his city. These roof gardens were the mysterious "Hanging Gardens" of Babylon, whose fame spread far into the West, until they were numbered by the Greeks among the Seven Wonders of the World.

135. Nebuchadnezzar's "Hanging Gardens"

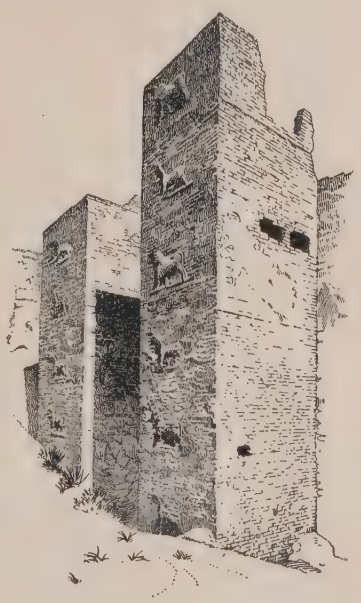


FIG. 47. THE ISHTAR GATE OF THE PALACE QUARTER OF BABYLON IN THE CHALDEAN EMPIRE (SIXTH CENTURY B.C.)

This gate, recently excavated, is the most important building still standing in Babylon. It is not a restoration like Fig. 46. The towers rising on either side of the gate are adorned with the figures of animals (see headpiece, p. 82) in splendidly colored glazed tile, as used also in the Assyrian palaces (Fig. 43). Behind this gate rose the sumptuous palace of Nebuchadnezzar, crowned by the beautiful roof gardens known as the "Hanging Gardens" of Babylon (§ 135)

For the first time Babylonia saw a very large city. In this new architecture we see how this Chaldean Age brought Babylonia up to the new and higher level of civilization attained by Assyria (§ 131). The city was immensely extended by Nebuchadnezzar, and enormous fortified walls were built to protect it. It was this Babylon of

136. Extent and modern excavation of Chaldean Babylon

Nebuchadnezzar which has become familiar to all Christian peoples as the great city of the Hebrew captivity (§§ 180–181). So little survives of all the glories which made it world-renowned in its time that eighteen years of excavation have recovered almost no standing buildings (Fig. 47).

137. Civilization of Chaldean Babylon; rise of astronomy and astrology

The Chaldeans seem to have adopted the civilization of Babylonia in much the same way as other earlier Semitic invaders of this ancient plain (§ 108). Science made notable progress in one important branch — astronomy. This was really at that time only what we call "astrology" (§ 112), but it was now very systematically pursued and was slowly becoming astronomy. The equator was divided into 360 degrees, and for the first time the Chaldean astrologers laid out the twelve groups of stars which we call the "Twelve Signs of the Zodiac." Thus for the first time the sky and its worlds were being mapped out.

138. Origin of names of the planets

The five planets then known (Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn) were regarded as the powers especially controlling the fortunes of men, and as such the five leading Babylonian divinities were identified with these five heavenly bodies. The names of these Babylonian divinities have therefore descended to us as the names of the planets. But on their way to us through Europe, the ancient Babylonian divine names were translated into Roman forms. So the planet of Ishtar, the goddess of love, became Venus, while that of Marduk, the great god of Babylon, became Jupiter, and so on. The celestial observations made by these Chaldean "astrologers," as we call them, slowly became sufficiently accurate, so that the observers could already foretell an eclipse. These observations when inherited by the Greeks formed the basis of the science of astronomy, which the Greeks carried so much further (§ 306). The practice of astrology has survived to our own day; we still unconsciously recall it in such phrases as "his lucky star" or an "ill-starred undertaking."

The reign of Nebuchadnezzar was the high-water mark of Chaldean civilization. After his death (561 B.C.) the old civilized

Map I
EGYPTIAN EMPIRE
15th Century B.C.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
EUROPE
BLACK SEA
Caucasus Mts.
CASPIAN SEA
Halys R.
IRON REGION
Asia Minor
Hittites
CILICIA
ASSYRIA
Nineveh
Assur
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Fertile Crescent
Irdnian Plateau
Indus R.
Aegean Sea
CYPRUS
CRETE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
PHOENICIA
SYRIA
Byblos
Tyre
Damascus
Jerusalem
Babylon
ELAM
Susa
Persian Gulf
Memphis
SINAI
ARABIA
INDIA
INDIAN
Thebes
Aswan
First Cataract
Second Cataract
Nile R.
RED SEA
AFRICA
EGYPT

SEQUENCE MAP SHOWING EXPANSION OF THE ORIENTAL EMPIRES FOR A THOUSAND YEARS (FROM ABOUT 1500 TO 500 B.C.). IN FOUR PARTS. (See Map III and Map IV following)

Map III
MEDIAN AND
CHALDEAN EMPIRES
6th Century B.C.
Median Empire
Chaldean Empire
Lydian Empire
Other peoples Independent of Medes and Chaldeans
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
EUROPE
BLACK SEA
Caucasus Mts.
CASPIAN SEA
Aegean
GREECE
HELLAS
CRETE
Asia Minor
LYDIAN EMPIRE
PHRYGIA
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
CILICIA
Sardis
CYPRUS
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Jerusalem
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ASSYRIA
Nineveh
Assur
CHALDEAN EMPIRE
MEDIA
PERSIA
HYRCANIA
PARTHIA
BACTRIANA
SOGDIANA
Iranian Plateau
ELAM
Susa
Pasargadæ
Persian Gulf
ARABIA
INDIA
INDIAN
Memphis
Thebes
Aswan
First Cataract
Second Cataract
Nile
RED SEA
AFRICA
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Fertile Crescent
Indus R.

SEQUENCE MAP SHOWING EXPANSION OF THE ORIENTAL EMPIRES FOR A THOUSAND YEARS (FROM ABOUT 1500 TO 500 B.C.). IN FOUR PARTS. (See Map I and Map II preceding)

lands of the Orient seem to have lost most of their former power to go forward and to make fresh discoveries and new conquests in civilization, such as they had been making during three great ages on the Nile and three similar ages on the Two Rivers. Indeed the leadership of the Semitic peoples in the early world was drawing near its close, and they were about to give way before the advance of new peoples of the Indo-European race (Section 15). The nomads of the southern desert were about to yield to the hardy Indo-European peoples of the northern and eastern mountains, and to these we must now turn.

139. Decline of the old oriental lands

QUESTIONS

SECTION 10. Summarize the history of the Fertile Crescent. Describe the nomads' life; their religion. Describe the Babylonian plain, giving size, climate, and products.

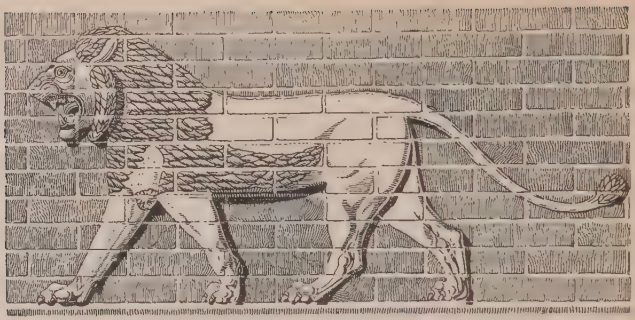
SECTION 11. Describe Sumerian civilization. Tell about the earliest Semites in Babylonia and their first great leader. How did these Semites gain civilization; for example, writing?

SECTION 12. Who was Hammurapi? Give an account of his laws. Describe Babylonian commerce in his age. How can we summarize Babylonian history?

SECTION 13. Locate Assyria on the Fertile Crescent. Whence did its people receive their civilization? What did the Assyrian Empire at its largest chiefly include? Give some account of Assyrian civilization. Outline the causes of the fall of Assyria.

SECTION 14. Who were the Chaldeans? Describe Chaldean Babylon; its chief buildings. Discuss Chaldean astronomy.

NOTE. Huge winged bulls, like this one below, with human head, were set up to adorn the entrances of Assyrian palaces (Fig. 43, *D*). They were carved in alabaster.



CHAPTER IV

WESTERN ASIA: THE MEDO-PERSIAN EMPIRE AND THE HEBREWS

Section 15. The Indo-European Peoples and their Dispersion[1]

140. The northern grasslands

We have seen that the Arabian desert has been a great reservoir of unsettled peoples, who were continually leaving the grasslands on the margin of the desert and shifting over into the towns to begin a settled life (§ 92). Corresponding to these grasslands of the *South*, there are similar grasslands in the *North* (Fig. 48). These northern grasslands stretch from the lower Danube eastward along the north side of the Black Sea through southern Russia and far into Asia north and east of the Caspian. In ancient times they always had a wandering

Note. The above lion figure adorned the wall of the throne room in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon (§ 135). It is made of glazed brick in the brightest colors, which produced a gorgeous effect as architectural adornment (see Fig. 47). This art arose in Egypt, passed thence to Assyria and Babylonia, and was then adopted by the Persians (see Fig. 49).

[1] Section 15 should be carefully worked over by the teacher with the class before the class is permitted to study this section alone. The diagram (Fig. 48) should be put on the blackboard and explained in detail by the teacher, and the class should then be prepared to put the diagram on the board from memory. This should be done again when the study of the Greeks is begun (§ 210), and a third time when Italy and the Romans are taken up.

shepherd population, and time after time, for thousands of years, these Northern nomads have poured forth over Europe and Western Asia, just as the desert Semites of the South have done over the Fertile Crescent (§ 92).

141. The two lines — Indo-European and Semitic

These nomads of the North were from the earliest times a great white race, which we call *Indo-European*. We can perhaps best explain this term by saying that these Indo-Europeans were the ancestors of the present peoples of Europe. As our forefathers came from Europe, the Indo-European nomads were also our own ancestors. These nomads of the *Northern* grasslands, our ancestors, began to migrate in very ancient times, moving out along diverging routes. They at last extended in an imposing line from the frontiers of India on the east, westward across all Europe to the Atlantic, as they do to-day (Fig. 48). This great northern line was confronted on the south by a similar line of Semitic peoples, extending from Babylonia on the east, through Phœnicia and the Hebrews westward along North Africa to Carthage and similar Semitic settlements of Phœnicia in the western Mediterranean (§ 93).

142. Struggle between the two lines — Indo-European and Semitic; triumph of the Indo-European line

The history of the ancient world, as we are now to follow it, was often made up of the struggle between this *southern Semitic* line which issued from the Southern grasslands and the *northern Indo-European* line which came forth from the Northern grasslands. Thus as we look at the diagram (Fig. 48) we see the two great races facing each other across the Mediterranean like two vast armies stretching from Western Asia westward to the Atlantic. The later wars between Rome and Carthage (§§ 535–564) represent some of the operations on the Semitic left wing; while the triumph of Persia over Chaldea, which we are next to take up (§ 155), was a similar outcome on the Semitic right wing. The result of the long conflict was the complete triumph of our ancestors, the Indo-European line, which conquered along the center and both wings and gained the leadership throughout the Mediterranean world under the Greeks and Romans (Chapters VII to XVIII).

143. The Indo-European parent people and their original home and civilization

Let us now turn back to a time before the Indo-European people had left their original home on the grasslands. While its exact situation is still uncertain, it is now probable that this original home was on the great grassy steppe in the region east and northeast of the Caspian Sea. Here, then, probably lived the parent people of all the later Indo-European race. Before they dispersed, probably about 2500 B.C., the parent people were still in the Stone Age for the most part, though copper was beginning to come in. Divided into numerous tribes, they wandered at will, seeking pasture for their flocks, for they already possessed domestic animals, including cattle and sheep. But chief among their domesticated beasts was the *horse*, which, as we recall, was still entirely unknown to the civilized oriental nations until after Hammurapi's time (see § 114). They employed him both for riding and for drawing wheeled carts. Some of the tribes had adopted a settled life and cultivated grain, especially barley. Being without writing, they possessed little government and organization. But they were the most gifted and the most highly imaginative people of the ancient world.

144. The dispersion of the Indo-European parent people

As their tribes wandered farther and farther apart they lost contact with each other. While they all at first spoke the same language, differences in speech gradually arose and finally became so great that the widely scattered tribes, even if they happened to meet, could no longer make themselves understood. At last they lost all knowledge of their original relationship. The final outcome, in so far as speech was concerned, was the languages of modern civilized Europe; so that, beginning with England in the west and going eastward, we can trace more than one common word from people to people entirely across Europe into northern India. Note the following:

WEST				⟶		EAST
English	German	Latin	Greek	Old Persian and Avestan	Tokhar (in Central Asia)	East Indian (Sanskrit)
brother	bruder	frater	phratēr	brata	pracar	bhrātā
mother	mutter	mater	mētēr	matar	macar	mātā
father	vater	pater	patēr	pitar	pacar	pitā

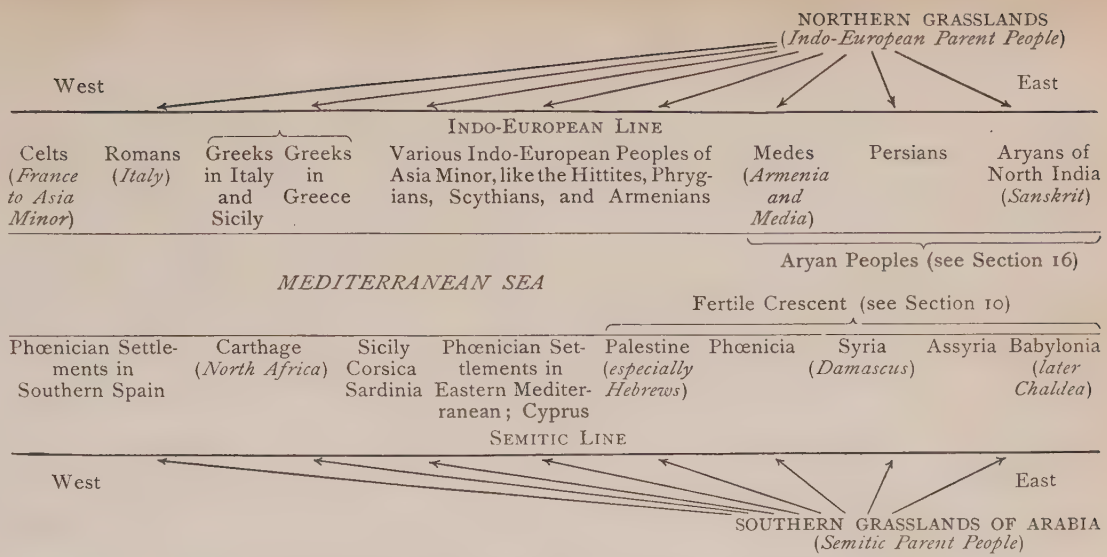


FIG. 48. DIAGRAM SUGGESTING THE TWO LINES OF SEMITIC AND INDO-EUROPEAN DISPERSION

The actual lines along which these peoples lie are of course not straight. The lines sometimes overlie each other, as in Sicily, mentioned in both lines. Egypt, which geographically belongs in the southern line, has been omitted because it is not purely Semitic, although closely related to the Semites. Notice also that in the West the two races face each other for the most part across the Mediterranean; in the East they confront each other along the Fertile Crescent (Section 10). The Hittites, included above among the Indo-European peoples, became so in language, though evidently not originally so in blood

We are now to watch the *eastern* wing of the vast Indo-European line as it swings southward and comes into collision with the right wing of the Semitic line on the Fertile Crescent.

Section 16. The Aryan Peoples and the Iranian Prophet Zoroaster

145. The Aryans; the advance of the eastern wing of the Indo-European line

The easternmost tribes of the Indo-European line, having left the parent people, were pasturing their herds in the great steppe on the east of the Caspian by about 2000 B.C. Here they formed a people called the Aryans[1] (see Fig. 48). They had no writing, and they have left no monuments.

146. Sanskrit-speaking tribes in India

When the Aryans broke up, perhaps about 1800 B.C., they separated into two groups. The Eastern tribes wandered southeastward and eventually arrived in India. In their sacred books, which we call the Vedas, written in Sanskrit, there are echoes of the days of Aryan unity, and they furnish many a hint of the ancient Aryan home on the east of the Caspian.

147. Medes and Persians further west toward the Fertile Crescent

The other group, whose tribes kept the name "Aryan" in the form "Iran," also left this home and pushed westward and southwestward into the mountains bordering the Fertile Crescent. We call them Iranians, and among them were two powerful tribes, the Medes and the Persians.[2] We recall

[1] The Indo-European parent people apparently had no common name for all their tribes as a great group. The term "Aryan" is often popularly applied to the parent people, but this custom is incorrect. "Aryan" (from which "Iran" and "Iranian" are later derivatives) designated a group of tribes, a fragment of the parent people, which detached itself and found a home for some centuries just east of the Caspian Sea. When we hear the term "Aryan" applied to the Indo-European peoples of Europe, or when it is said that we ourselves are descended from the Aryans, we must remember that this use of the word is historically incorrect, though very common. The Aryans, then, were *Eastern* descendants of the Indo-European parent people, as we are *Western* descendants of the parent people. The Aryans are our distant cousins but not our ancestors.

[2] About 2100 B.C., in the age of Hammurapi, long before the Iranians reached the Fertile Crescent, their coming had been announced in advance by the arrival of the horse in Babylonia (see § 114).

how, in the days of Assyria's imperial power, the Medes descended from the northern mountains against Nineveh (§ 129). This advance of the Indo-Europeans was thus overwhelming the right wing of the Semites (Fig. 48), who occupied the Fertile Crescent.

148. The Median (Indo-European) Empire threatens Chaldean (Semitic) Babylonia

By 600 B.C., just after the fall of Assyria (§ 130), the Medes had established a powerful Iranian empire in the mountains east of the Tigris. It extended from the Persian Gulf, where it included the Persians, northwestward in the general line of the mountains to the Black Sea region. The front of the Indo-European eastern wing was thus roughly parallel with the Tigris at this point, but its advance was not to stop here. Nebuchadnezzar (§ 133) and the Chaldean masters of Babylon looked with anxious eyes at this dangerous Median power. The Chaldeans on the Euphrates represented the leadership of men of Semitic blood from the *Southern* pastures. Their leadership was now to be followed by that of men of Indo-European blood from the *Northern* pastures (§ 141). As we see the Chaldeans giving way before the Medes and Persians (§ 147), let us bear in mind that we are watching a great racial change.

149. The religion of the Iranians; Zoroaster

All of these Iranians possessed a beautiful religion inherited from old Aryan days. Somewhere in the eastern mountains, as far back as 1000 B.C., an Iranian named Zoroaster began to look out upon the life of men, which he studied in an effort to find a new religion fitted to meet the needs of man's life. He watched the ceaseless struggle between good and evil which seemed to meet him wherever he turned. To him it seemed to be a struggle between a group of good beings on the one hand, and of evil beings on the other. The Good became to him a divine person, whom he called Mazda, or Ahuramazda, which means "Lord of Wisdom," and whom he regarded as God. Ahuramazda was surrounded by a group of helpers much like angels, of whom one of the greatest was the Light, called "Mithras." Opposed to Ahuramazda and his helpers it was

finally believed there was an evil group led by a great Spirit of Evil named Ahriman. It was he who later was inherited by Jews and Christians as Satan.

150. Spread of Zoroastrianism

Thus the faith of Zoroaster grew up out of the struggle of life itself, and became a great power in life. It was one of the noblest religions ever founded. It called upon every man to stand on one side or the other; to fill his soul with the Good and the Light or to dwell in the Evil and the Darkness. Whatever course a man pursued, he must expect a judgment hereafter. This was the earliest appearance in Asia of belief in a last judgment. Zoroaster maintained the old Aryan veneration of fire as a visible symbol of the Good and the Light, and he preserved the ancient fire-kindling priests. The new faith had gained a firm footing before the prophet's death, and before 700 B.C. it was the leading religion among the Medes in the mountains along the Fertile Crescent. Thus Zoroaster became the first great founder of a religious faith.

151. The *Avesta*, the Persian Bible

As in the case of Mohammed, it is probable that Zoroaster could neither read nor write, for the Iranians possessed no system of writing in his day (see § 145). Besides a few hymns, fragments of his teaching have descended to us in writings put together in the early Christian centuries, over a thousand years after the prophet's death. They form a book known as the *Avesta*. This we may call the Bible of the Persians.

Section 17. Rise of the Persian Empire: Cyrus

152. The emergence of the Persians; their land and traditions

No people became more zealous followers of Zoroaster than the group of Iranian tribes known as the Persians. At the fall of Nineveh (606 B.C.) (§ 130) they had already been long settled in the region at the southeastern end of the Zagros Mountains, just north of the Persian Gulf. Its shores are here little better than desert, but the valleys of the mountainous hinterland are rich and fertile. Here the Persians occupied a district some four hundred miles long. They were a rude

mountaineer peasant folk, leading a settled agricultural life, with simple institutions, and possessing no art, writing, or literature.

They acknowledged themselves vassals of the Empire of their kinsmen the Medes (§ 148). One of their tribes dwelling in the mountains of Elam (see map, p. 56), a tribe known as Anshan, was organized as a little kingdom. About fifty years after the fall of Nineveh this little kingdom of Anshan was ruled over by a Persian named Cyrus. He succeeded in uniting the other tribes of his kindred Persians into a nation. Thereupon Cyrus at once rebelled against the rule of the Medes. He gathered his peasant soldiery and within three years defeated the Median king and made himself

153. Cyrus of Anshan organizes the Persian tribes into a nation and conquers the Medes

FIG. 49. PERSIAN SOLDIERS IN BABYLONIAN GARMENTS

Although carrying spears when doing duty as palace guards, these men were chiefly archers (§ 154), as is shown by the size of the large quivers on their backs for containing the supply of arrows. The bow hangs on the left shoulder. The royal bodyguard may also be seen wielding their spears around the Persian king at the battle of Issus (Fig. 91). Notice the splendid robes worn by these palace guards. They were copied from Babylonian garments, and they illustrate how the Persians received civilization by borrowing from the Fertile Crescent and from Egypt. The figures are done in brightly colored glazed brick — an art also borrowed by the Persians (see headpiece, p. 82), and long lines of these brilliantly colored figures adorned the inner walls of the palace halls and courts

master of the Median territory (§ 148). The extraordinary career of Cyrus was now a spectacle upon which all eyes in the West were fastened with wonder and alarm.

154. The Persian army

The overflowing energies of the new conqueror and his peasant soldiery proved irresistible. The Persian peasants seem to have been remarkable archers. The mass of the Persian army was made up of bowmen (Fig. 49), whose storm of arrows at long range overwhelmed the enemy long before the hand-to-hand fighting began. Bodies of the skillful Persian horsemen, hovering on either wing, then rode in and completed the destruction of the foe. These arrangements were taken by the Persians from the Assyrians, the greatest soldiers the East had ever seen.

155. Cyrus conquers the West, captures Sardis (546 B.C.) and Babylon (539 B.C.)

With a powerful Persian army Cyrus marched into western Asia Minor and conquered the kingdom of Lydia. He captured its capital, Sardis, and took prisoner its king, the wealthy and powerful Crœsus. Within five years the power of the little Persian kingdom in the mountains of Elam had thus swept across Asia Minor to the Mediterranean and had become the leading state in the oriental world. Turning eastward again, Cyrus had no trouble in defeating the Chaldean army led by the young crown prince Belshazzar, whose name in the Book of Daniel (see Dan. v) is a household word throughout the Christian world. In spite of the vast walls erected by Nebuchadnezzar to protect Babylon (§ 136), the Persians entered the great city in 539 B.C., seemingly without resistance.

156. Collapse of the Semitic Orient before the Indo-Europeans; death of Cyrus (528 B.C.)

Thus the Semitic East completely collapsed before the advance of the Indo-European power, only sixty-seven years after the fall of Nineveh (§ 130) had opened the conflict between the former dwellers in the Northern and the Southern grasslands. Some ten years later Cyrus fell in battle (528 B.C.). His body was reverently laid away in a massive tomb of impressive simplicity, which still survives (see *Ancient Times*, Fig. 115). It is the oldest example of Persian architecture. Thus passed away the first great conqueror of Indo-European blood.

All Western Asia was now subject to the Persian king; then in 525 B.C., only three years after the death of Cyrus, his son Cambyses conquered Egypt. This conquest of the only remaining ancient oriental power rounded out the Persian Empire to include the whole civilized Orient from the Nile Delta, around the entire eastern end of the Mediterranean to the Ægean Sea, and from this western boundary eastward almost to India (see Map IV, p. 81). The great task had consumed just twenty-five years since the overthrow of the Medes by Cyrus. It was an achievement for which the Assyrian Empire had prepared the way, and the Persians were now to learn much from the great civilizations which had preceded them.

157. Cambyses conquers Egypt; Persia rules whole civilized East

Section 18. The Civilization of the Persian Empire (about 530 to 330 B.C.)

The Persians found Babylon a great and splendid city, with the vast fortifications and magnificent buildings of Nebuchadnezzar visible far across the Babylonian plain (§§ 134–136). The city was the center of the commerce of Western Asia and the greatest market in the early oriental world. Along the Nile, also, the Persian emperors now ruled the splendid cities whose colossal monuments we have visited. Such things as these, and the civilized life which the Persians found along the Nile and the Euphrates, soon influenced them greatly, as we shall see.

158. Persian kings at Babylon absorb civilization of the East they rule

In order to carry on business and government the Persians, formerly without writing, needed to know how to write. The Persian scribes soon devised an alphabet, of thirty-nine *cuneiform* signs, which they employed for writing Persian on clay tablets. They also used it when they wished to make records on large monuments of stone (Fig. 51). Thus the Persians began to make enduring written records after they entered the Fertile Crescent. These monuments are the earliest Persian documents which have descended to us (see *Ancient Times*, Fig. 117).

159. The Persians learn to write and devise a cuneiform alphabet

160. Organization of the Persian Empire by Darius

The organization of such a vast empire, stretching from the Indus River to the Ægean Sea (almost as long as the United States from east to west) and from the Indian Ocean to the Caspian Sea, was a colossal task. Though begun by Cyrus, it was carried through by Darius the Great (521–485 B.C.). His organization remains one of the most remarkable achievements in the history of the ancient Orient, if not of the world. For the system introduced by Darius was not only attempting government on a larger scale than the world had ever seen before, but it was government controlled by *one man*. The ancient world never forgot the example of the vast Persian Empire controlled by one-man power.

161. The Persian provincial system

Darius did not desire further conquests, but he planned to maintain the Empire as he had inherited it. He caused himself to be made actual king in Egypt and in Babylonia, but the rest of the Empire he divided into twenty provinces, each called a "satrapy." Each such province was under the control of a governor called a "satrap," who was appointed by the "Great King," as the Persian sovereign came to be called. These arrangements were similar to those of the Chaldean, Assyrian, and Egyptian empires, but they improved upon the older arrangements. The Persian rule was just, humane, and intelligent. The subject nations, or provinces, enjoyed a good deal of independence in their own local matters as long as they paid regular tribute and furnished recruits for the Great King's army.

162. Tribute and coinage

In the East this tribute was paid, as of old, in produce (§§ 47 and 111). In the West, chiefly Lydia and the Greek settlements in western Asia Minor, the coinage of metal was common by 600 B.C. (§ 275), and there this tribute was paid in *coined money*. Thus the great commercial convenience of coined money issued by the State began to come into the Orient during the Persian period under Darius.

Nothing shows the wise statesmanship of Darius the Great more clearly than his remarkable efforts to make Persia a

great sea power. He dispatched a skillful Mediterranean sailor named Scylax to explore the course of the great Indus River in India, and then to sail along the coast of Asia from the mouth of the Indus westward to the Isthmus of Suez. Scylax was the first Western sailor who is known to have sailed along this south coast of Asia, so little known at that time (about 500 B.C.). At Suez, Darius restored the ancient but long filled-up canal of the Egyptians connecting the Nile with the Red Sea (§ 70; see *Ancient Times*, § 271). This gave him a sea route all the way from the Persian coast to the Mediterranean. Unlike the Assyrians, Darius treated the Phœnician cities with kindness, and succeeded in organizing a great Phœnician war fleet in the eastern Mediterranean. Thus the more enlightened Persian kings accomplished what the Assyrian emperors never achieved, and Persia became the first great sea power in Asia.

163. Darius turns to the sea; Persia becomes the earliest great sea power in Asia

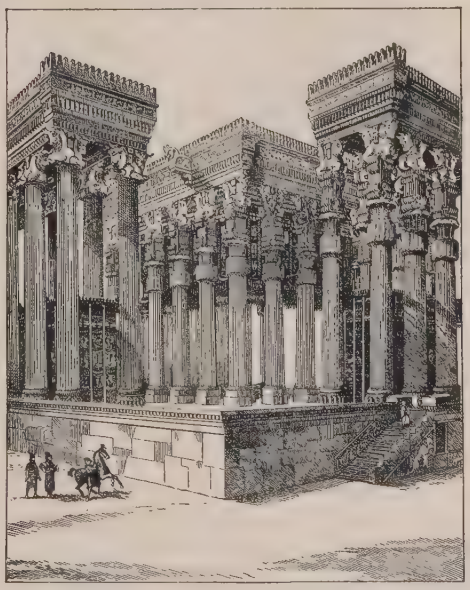


FIG. 50. COLONNADES OF THE PERSIAN PALACE AT PERSEPOLIS

This sumptuous and ornate architecture of the Persians is made up of patterns borrowed from other peoples and combined (see § 165)

From end to end of the vast Empire the Persian emperors laid out a system of excellent roads, on which royal messengers

164. System of roads and communication

maintained a regular postal system. A good example of the usefulness of these roads was the introduction of the common hen into Western Asia and Europe. Its original home was in India and it gradually found its way westward, finally reaching the Mediterranean along the easy Persian communications.

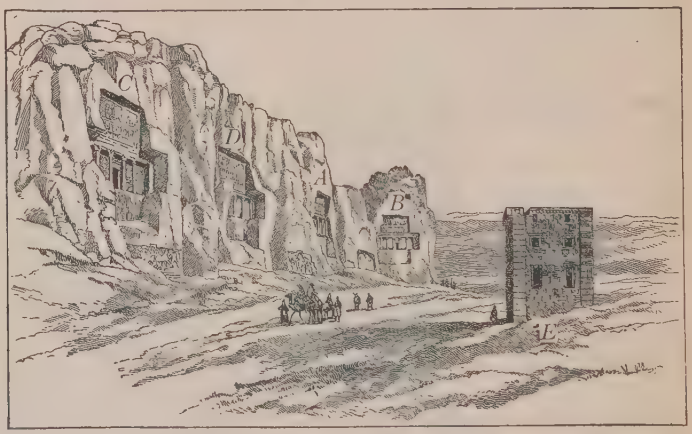


FIG. 51. TOMBS OF THE EARLIER PERSIAN KINGS A FEW MILES FROM PERSEPOLIS

The fronts of the tombs are carved in the cliffs at the left. They begin with the tomb of Darius I, the Great (*A*), about 500 B.C., Xerxes (*B*), Darius II (*C*), and Artaxerxes I (*D*). The remaining three later kings, ending with Darius III (§ 437), were buried at Persepolis (Fig. 50). All of these tombs were broken open and robbed in ancient days, and now contain only the sarcophagi (stone coffins) of the Persian kings and their families. The tomb of Cyrus (in the vicinity) is a detached stone structure not shown here (see *Ancient Times*, Fig. 115). The detached building on the right (*E*) has nothing to do with the tombs

165. Capital, royal residences, and architecture

The ancient Elamite city of Susa, in the Zagros Mountains (see map, p. 56), was the chief residence and capital. The mild air of the Babylonian plain, however, attracted the Persian sovereign during the colder months, when he went to dwell in the palaces of the vanished Chaldean Empire at Babylon. In spite of the remoteness of their old Persian home the earlier

kings had made an effort to live there. Darius established a magnificent residence at Persepolis (Fig. 50, and *Ancient Times*, Fig. 116). Near the ruins of these buildings the tombs of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, and the other Persian emperors still stand in their native Persia (Fig. 51). In all such works the Persian architects of course had to learn architecture from the older oriental peoples conquered by Persia.[1]

166. Decline of Persia

For the oriental world as a whole, Persian rule meant about two hundred years of peaceful prosperity (ending about 333 B.C.). The Persian kings, however, as time went on, were no longer as strong and skillful as Cyrus and Darius. They loved luxury and ease and left much of the task of ruling to their governors and officials. This meant corrupt and ineffective government; the result was weakness and decline.

167. Character of the Persian kings and their rule

The later world, especially the Greeks, often represented the Persian rulers as cruel and barbarous oriental tyrants. This unfavorable opinion is not wholly justified. The Persian emperors felt a deep sense of obligation to give just government to the nations of the earth. There can be no doubt that the Persian Empire, the largest the ancient world had thus far seen, enjoyed a government far more just and humane than any that had preceded it in the East.

168. Far-reaching competition among oriental religions

In matters of religion, as in many other things, the Persian Empire completed the breakdown of the boundaries between nations. Then began a long period when the leading religions of the East were called upon to compete in a great contest for the mastery among all the nations. The most important of these oriental religions was that of the Hebrews. We must therefore glance briefly at the little Hebrew kingdom among the Persian vassals in the West, which was destined to influence the history of man more profoundly than any of the great empires of the early world.

[1] On the adoption of Babylonian, Assyrian, and Egyptian building arrangements by the Persians, see *Ancient Times*, § 275.

Section 19. The Hebrews

169. The Hebrew invasion of Palestine (about 1400 to 1200 B.C.)

The Hebrews were all originally men of the Arabian desert,[1] wandering with their flocks and herds. For two centuries, beginning about 1400 B.C., they were slowly drifting over into their final home in Palestine, along the west end of the Fertile Crescent.[2] When they entered it the Hebrews were nomad shepherds (see § 91) and possessed very little civilization. A southern group of their tribes had been slaves in Egypt, but had been induced to flee by their heroic leader Moses,

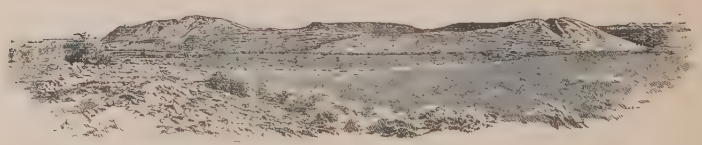


Fig. 52. The Long Mound of the Ancient Canaanite City of Jericho

The walls of the city and the ruins of the houses (Fig. 53) are buried under the rubbish which makes up this mound. Many of the ancient cities of Palestine are now such mounds as this

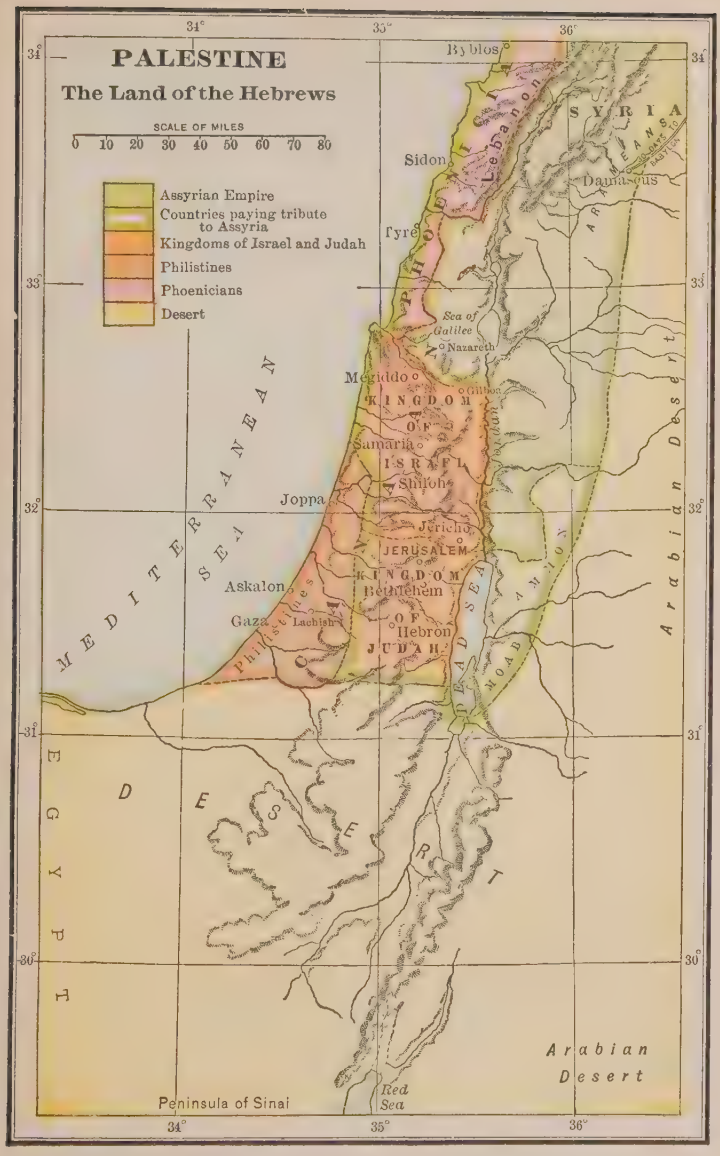
a great national hero whose achievements they never forgot. He led them out of Egypt.

170. The Hebrews mingle with the Canaanites

On entering Palestine the Hebrews found the Canaanites (§ 96) dwelling there in flourishing towns with massive walls (Fig. 53). The Canaanites had learned from Egypt the manufacture of many valuable articles of commerce; from Babylonia the caravans had brought in bills and lists written on clay tablets (Fig. 37), and the Canaanites had thus learned to use Babylonian cuneiform writing. The Hebrews settled

[1] The student should here carefully reread the account of the Arabian desert and the Semitic nomads — their life, customs, and religion — in §§ 90–95. It was from this desert and its life that the Hebrews all originally came.

[2] For an account of Palestine and its people before the Hebrews settled there, see *Ancient Times*, Section 27 (pp. 197–200).


PALESTINE
The Land of the Hebrews
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
Assyrian Empire
Countries paying tribute to Assyria
Kingdoms of Israel and Judah
Philistines
Phoenicians
Desert
34°
35°
36°
33°
32°
31°
30°
Byblos
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
SYRIA
Mt. Lebanon
ANTI-LEBANON
ARAMEANS
Sea of Galilee
Nazareth
Megiddo
Gilboa
KINGDOM OF ISRAEL
Samaria
Shiloh
Joppa
Jericho
JERUSALEM
KINGDOM OF JUDAH
Bethlehem
Hebron
Askalon
Gaza
Lachish
Philistines
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
JORDAN
DEAD SEA
MOAB
AMMON
Arabian Desert
EGYPT
DESERT
Arabian Desert
Peninsula of Sinai
Red Sea

on the land around the towns of the Canaanites and slowly mingled with them until the two peoples, Hebrew and Canaanite, had become one. By this process the Hebrews gradually adopted the civilization of the Canaanites.

Even after the Hebrews had set up a king the old nomad customs were still strong; for Saul, the first king (about

FIG. 53. RUINS OF THE HOUSES OF ANCIENT JERICHO

Only the stone foundations of these houses are preserved. The walls were of sun-baked brick, and the rains of over three thousand years have washed them away; for these houses date from about 1500 B.C., and in them lived the Canaanites, whom the Hebrews found in Palestine (§ 170). Here we find the furniture of these houses, in so far as it consisted of things durable enough to survive, like the pottery jars, glass, and dishes of the household; also things carved of stone, like seals, amulets, and ornaments of metal

1025 B.C.), had no fixed home but lived in a tent. His successor, David, saw the importance of a strong castle as the king's permanent home. He therefore seized the old Canaanite fortress of Jerusalem. From Jerusalem, as his residence, David extended his power far and wide and made the Hebrews a strong nation. His people never forgot his heroic deeds as

171. Rise of the Hebrew kingdom (about 1025 to 930 B.C.); Saul and David

a warrior nor his skill as a poet and singer. Centuries later they revered him as the author of many of their religious songs or "psalms."

172. Solomon and the division of the kingdom (about 930 B.C.)

David's son, Solomon, delighted in oriental luxury and display. To support his extravagance he weighed down the Hebrews with heavy taxes. The discontent was so great that when Solomon died the Northern tribes withdrew from the nation and set up a king of their own. Thus the Hebrew nation was divided into two kingdoms before it was a century old.

173. Contrast between the two Hebrew kingdoms: Israel and Judah

There was much hard feeling between the two Hebrew kingdoms, and sometimes fighting. Israel, as we call the Northern kingdom, was rich and prosperous; its market places were filled with industry and commerce; its fertile fields produced plentiful crops. Israel displayed the wealth and success of town life. On the other hand, Judah, the Southern kingdom, was poor; her land was meager (Fig. 54). Besides Jerusalem, the capital, she had no large and prosperous towns. Many of the people still wandered with their flocks. The South thus remained largely nomad.

174. The effect of this contrast upon religion

These two methods of life came into conflict in many ways, but especially in religion. Every old Canaanite town had for centuries worshiped its "baal," or lord, as its local god was called. These had never died out. The Hebrew townsmen found it very natural to worship these gods of their neighbors, the Canaanite townsmen. They were thus unfaithful to their old Hebrew God Yahveh (or Jehovah).[1] To some devout Hebrews, therefore, and especially to those in the South, the Canaanite gods seemed to be the protectors of the wealthy class in the towns, with their luxury and their injustice to the poor. On the other hand, Yahveh appeared to be the guardian of the simpler shepherd life of the desert, and therefore the protector of the poor and needy.

[1] The Hebrews pronounced the name of their God "Yahveh." The pronunciation "Jehovah" began less than six hundred years ago and was due to a misunderstanding of the pronunciation of the word "Yahveh."

Thoughtful Hebrews began to feel the injustices of town life. They saw among the rich townsmen showy clothes, fine houses, beautiful furniture, and cruel hard-heartedness toward the poor. These were things which had been unknown in the simple nomad life of the desert. Men who chafed under such injustices of town life turned fondly back to the grand old days

175. The Unknown Historian, earliest writer of history (eighth century B.C.)

FIG. 54. THE STONY AND UNPRODUCTIVE FIELDS OF JUDAH

Judah is largely made up of sterile ridges like this in the background. Note the scantiness of the growing grain in the foreground (§ 173)

of their shepherd wanderings out yonder on the broad reaches of the desert, where no man "ground the faces of the poor." It was a gifted Hebrew[1] of this kind who now put together a simple narrative history of the Hebrew forefathers — a glorified picture of their shepherd life. He told the immortal tales of the Hebrew patriarchs, of Abraham and Isaac, of Jacob and

[1] Unfortunately we do not know his name, for the Hebrews themselves early lost all knowledge of his name and identity, and finally associated the surviving fragments of his work with the name of Moses.

Joseph. These tales, preserved to us in the Old Testament, are among the noblest literature which has survived from the past.[1] They are the earliest example of historical writing in prose which we possess among any people, and their nameless author, whom we might call the Unknown Historian, is the earliest historian known in the ancient world.

176. Amos denounces the corrupt living of the Northern kingdom; the prophets

Other men were not content merely to tell tales of the good old days. Amos, a simple herdsman, clad in sheepskin, who came from the South, entered the towns of the wealthy North and denounced their showy clothes, fine houses, beautiful furniture, and above all their corrupt lives and hard-heartedness toward the poor, whose lands they seized for debt and whose labor they gained by enslaving their fellow Hebrews. By such addresses as these Amos, of course, endangered his life, but he thus became the first social reformer in Asia. We apply the term "prophet" to these great Hebrew leaders, who pointed out the way toward unselfish living, brotherly kindness, and a higher type of religion.

177. The Hebrews learn to write

While all this had been going on the Hebrews had been learning to write. The peoples of Western Asia were now abandoning the clay tablet (Fig. 37) and beginning to write on papyrus with the Egyptian pen and ink. The Hebrews borrowed their alphabet from the Phœnician and Aramean merchants (§ 96). The rolls containing the Unknown Historian's tales of the patriarchs, or the teachings of such men as Amos, were the first books which the Hebrews produced —their first literature (see *Ancient Times*, Fig. 131). But literature remained the only art the Hebrews possessed. They had no painting, sculpture, or architecture, and if they needed these things they borrowed from their great neighbors, Egypt, Phœnicia (§§ 226–227), Damascus, or Assyria.

While the Hebrews had been deeply stirred by their own conflicts *at home*, such men as Amos had also perceived and proclaimed the dangers coming from *abroad*, from beyond the

[1] The student should read these tales, especially Gen. xxiv, xxvii, xxviii, xxxvii, xxxix–xlvii, 12.

borders of Palestine, especially from Assyria. As Amos had foreseen, the Assyrians crushed the kingdom of Israel, and Samaria, its capital, was captured by them in 722 B.C. Many of the unhappy Northern Hebrews were carried away as captives, and Israel was destroyed after having existed for a little over two centuries.

178. Destruction of the Northern kingdom by Assyria (722 B.C.)

The national hopes of the Hebrews were now centered in the helpless little kingdom of Judah (see map, p. 96), which struggled on for over a century and a quarter more. More helpless than Belgium in 1914, Judah was now entangled in a great world conflict, in which Assyria was the irresistible champion. Thus far the Hebrews had been accustomed to think of their God as dwelling and ruling in Palestine only. Did he have power also over the vast world arena where all the great nations were fighting? But even if so, was not Assur, the great god of victorious Assyria, stronger than Yahveh, the God of the Hebrews? A wonderful deliverance of Jerusalem from the cruel Assyrian army of Sennacherib (701 B.C.) enabled the great prophet Isaiah to teach the Hebrews that Yahveh, their God, controlled the great world arena, where *He*, and not Assur, was the triumphant champion.

179. Yahveh, the God of Palestine, in conflict with Assur, god of Assyria; Isaiah

A century later Jerusalem beheld and rejoiced over the fall of Assyria and the destruction of Nineveh (§ 130). But it had only exchanged one foreign lord for another, and Chaldea followed Assyria in control of Palestine (§ 132). Then their unwillingness to submit brought upon the men of Judah the same fate which their kindred of Israel had suffered. In 586 B.C. Nebuchadnezzar, the Chaldean king of Babylonia, destroyed Jerusalem and carried away the people to exile in Babylonia.

180. Destruction of the Southern kingdom by Chaldea (586 B.C.)

Forced to dwell in a strange land the Hebrews were more than ever faced by the hard question: Was Isaiah right? Or did Yahveh dwell and rule in Palestine only? We hear the echo of their grief and their uncertainty in some of their surviving songs.

181. Doubts of the Hebrew exiles answered by the great Unknown Prophet

By the rivers of Babylon,
There we sat down, yea we wept,
When we remembered Zion [Jerusalem].
Upon the willows in the midst thereof
We hanged up our harps.
. . . . . .
How shall we sing Yahveh's song
In a strange land? (Psalms cxxxvii, 1–4)

Had they not left Yahveh behind in Palestine? And then arose an unknown voice[1] among the Hebrew exiles, and out of their centuries of affliction gave them the answer. In a series of triumphant speeches this greatest of the Hebrews declared Yahveh to be the creator and sole God of the universe.

182. Monotheism reached by the Hebrews in exile

Thus had the Hebrew vision of Yahveh slowly grown from the days of their nomad life. Then they had seen him only as a fierce tribal war god, having as they thought no power beyond the corner of the desert where they lived. But now they had come to see that He was a kindly father and a righteous ruler of all the earth. This was *monotheism*, which is a Greek word meaning "one-god-ism." They had reached it only through a long development, which carried them through suffering and disaster. It had been a discipline lasting many centuries. Just as the individual to-day, especially a young person, learns from his mistakes and develops character as he suffers for his own errors, so the suffering Hebrews had outgrown many imperfect ideas. They thus illustrated the words of the greatest of Hebrew teachers, "First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."[2] By this rich and wonderful experience of the Hebrews in religious progress, the whole world was yet to profit.

[1] This unknown voice was that of a great poet-preacher, a prophet of the exile, whose name has been lost. But his addresses to his fellow exiles are preserved in sixteen chapters embedded in the Old Testament book now bearing the name of Isaiah (chaps. xl–lv, inclusive). We may call him the Unknown Prophet.

[2] The words of Jesus; see Mark iv, 28.

When the victorious Cyrus entered Babylon (§ 155) the Hebrew exiles there greeted him as their deliverer. His triumph gave the Hebrews a Persian ruler. With great humanity the Persian kings allowed the exiles to return to their native land. Some had prospered in Babylonia and did not care to return. But at different times enough of them went back to Jerusalem to rebuild the city on a very modest scale and to restore the temple.

183. Restoration of the exiled Hebrews by the Persian kings

These returned exiles arranged and copied the ancient writings of their fathers, such as the stories of the patriarchs or the speeches of Amos (§§ 175–176). They also added other writings of their own. All these writings, in Hebrew, form the Bible of the Jews at the present day. It has also become a sacred book for all Christians and, as part of the Christian Bible, is called the Old Testament. It forms the most precious legacy which we have inherited from the older Orient before the coming of Christ. It tells the story of how a rude shepherd folk issued from the wilds of the Arabian desert to live in Palestine and to go through experiences there which made them the religious teachers of the civilized world. And we should further remember that, crowning all their history, there came forth from them in due time the founder of the Christian religion (§ 704). One of the most important things that we owe to the Persians, therefore, was their restoration of the Hebrews to Palestine. The Persians thus saved and aided in transmitting to us the great legacy from Hebrew life which we have in the Old Testament and in the life of the Founder of Christianity.

184. The Old Testament and our legacy in Hebrew religion

Section 20. Estimate of Oriental Civilization

Persia was the last of the great oriental powers. We recall how the Orient passed from the discovery of metal and the invention of writing, through three great chapters of history on the Nile (about 3000 to 1150 B.C.), and three more on

185. Persia, and the end of oriental leadership (fourth century B.C.)

the Two Rivers (thirty-first century to 539 B. C.). When the six great chapters were ended, the East finally fell under the rule of the incoming Indo-Europeans, led by the Persians (from 539 B. C. on).

186. The achievements of the Orient: inventions

What did the Ancient Orient really accomplish for the human race in the course of this long career? It gave the world the first highly developed *practical arts*, like metal work, weaving, glassmaking, paper-making, and many other similar industries. To distribute the products of these industries among other peoples and carry on commerce, it built the earliest seagoing ships equipped with sails. It first was able to move great weights and undertake large building enterprises — large even for us of to-day. The early Orient therefore brought forth the first great group of inventions, surpassed in importance only by those of the modern world.

187. The achievements of the Orient: earliest architecture, sculpture, alphabet, literature, calendar, business, science, government

The Orient also gave us the earliest architecture in stone masonry, including the colonnade, the arch, the clerestory, and the tower or spire. It produced the earliest refined sculpture, from the wonderful portrait figures and colossal statues of Egypt to the exquisite seals of early Babylonia. It gave us writing and the earliest alphabet. In literature it brought forth the earliest known tales in narrative prose, poems, historical works, social discussions, and even a drama. It gave us the calendar we still use. It gave us our weights and measures and founded the world's methods of commerce and business. It made a beginning in mathematics, astronomy, and medicine. It first produced government on a large scale, whether of a single great nation or of an empire made up of a group of nations.

188. The achievements of the Orient: religion

Finally, in religion the East developed the earliest belief in a sole God and his fatherly care for all men, and laid the foundations of a religious life from which came forth the founder of the leading religion of the civilized world to-day. For these things, accomplished — most of them — while Europe was still undeveloped, our debt to the Orient is enormous.

189. Lack of political freedom, democratic government, and citizenship in the Ancient Orient

There were some very important things, however, which the Orient had not yet gained. The Orient had always accepted as a matter of course the rule of a king. It had never occurred to anyone there that the *people* should have something to say about how they should be governed. No one had ever gained the idea of a free citizen, a man feeling what we call patriotism, and under obligations to vote and to share in the government. Liberty as we understand it was unknown, and the rule of the people, which we call "democracy," was never dreamed of in the Orient. Hence the life of the individual man lacked the stimulating responsibilities which come with citizenship. Such responsibilities — like that of thinking about public questions and then voting, or of serving as a soldier to defend the nation — these are duties which quicken the mind and force men to action, and they were among the strongest influences in producing great men in Greece and Rome.

190. Lack of freedom of mind from religious tradition in the Ancient Orient

Just as the Orientals accepted the rule of *kings* without question, so they accepted the rule of the *gods*. It was a tradition which they and their fathers had always accepted. This limited their ideas of the world about them. They thought that every storm was due to the interference of some god, and that every eclipse must be the angry act of a god or demon. Hence the Orientals made little inquiry into the *natural* causes of such things. In general, then, they suffered from a lack of freedom of the mind — a kind of intellectual bondage to religion and to old ideas.[1] Under these circumstances natural science could not go very far, and religion was much darkened by superstition, while art and literature lacked some of their greatest sources of stimulus and inspiration.

191. Possibilities of future development; transition to Europe

There were, therefore, still boundless things for mankind to do in government, in thought about the natural world, in gaining deeper views of the wonders and beauties of nature,

[1] Intellectual freedom from tradition was earliest shown by the great Egyptian king Ikhnaton (§ 81) and by the Hebrew prophets (§ 176). Perhaps we could also include Zoroaster; but complete intellectual freedom was first attained by the Greeks.

as well as in art, in literature, and in many other lines. This future progress was to be made in Europe — that Europe which we left, at the end of our first chapter, in the Late Stone Age. To Europe, therefore, we must now turn, to follow across the eastern Mediterranean the course of rising civilization, as it passed from the Orient to our forefathers in early Europe four to five thousand years ago.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 15. (See map, p. 140.) Diagram the two racial lines, Indo-European and Semitic. From which line are we descended? Give some account of the Indo-European parent people. Discuss their dispersion.

SECTION 16. Locate the Aryan tribes on the map. What Indo-European people first invaded the Fertile Crescent, and when? Who overthrew Assyria, and when? Who was Zoroaster? What peoples adopted the religion he taught?

SECTIONS 17–18. Who was Cyrus? Where did his people live? Describe Persian methods of fighting. What great ancient city did Cyrus finally conquer? What other ancient land did the *son* of Cyrus conquer? What was then the extent of the Persian Empire? Who organized it? Describe Persian rule.

SECTION 19. What kind of life did the Hebrews originally lead? Where is Palestine? What was the final result of the Hebrew invasion? What kind of great men arose under the two Hebrew kingdoms? What happened to the two kingdoms? What happened to the surviving Hebrews? Who allowed some of the exiles to return to Palestine?

NOTE. The tailpiece below represents a bull hunt. It is beaten in gold and extends around a golden cup found at Vaphio, near Sparta. It was made by an ancient Cretan goldsmith and was then imported into Greece (see § 202 and *Ancient Times*, Fig. 140).

BOOK III. THE GREEKS

CHAPTER V

THE DAWN OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION AND THE RISE OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

Section 21. The Dawn of Civilization in Europe

192. Stone Age Europe and the Orient

We have already studied the life of earliest man in Europe, where we followed his progress step by step through some fifty thousand years (Sections 1–4; reread §§ 16–22). At that point we were obliged to leave him and to pass over from Europe to the Orient, to watch there the birth and growth of civilization, while all Europe remained in the barbarism of the Late Stone Age.

Note. The above drawing shows us the upper part of a stone vase carved by a Cretan sculptor. The lower part is lost. The scene depicts a procession of Cretan peasants with wooden pitchforks over their shoulders. Among them is a chorus of youths with wide-open mouths, lustily singing a harvest song, doubtless in honor of the great Earth Mother, to whom the peasants believed they owed the fertility of the earth. The music is led by a priest with head shaven after the Egyptian manner, and he carries upraised before his face a *sistrum*, a musical rattle which came from Egypt. The work is so wonderfully carved that we seem to feel the forward motion of the procession.

193. Late Stone Age Europe receives the first copper

The inland villages of this age in Europe were already receiving occasional visits from the traders who came from the coast settlements along the Mediterranean. Such a trader's wares were always eagerly inspected, but the interest was greatest when he exhibited a few shining beads or neck rings of a strange, heavy, gleaming, reddish substance, so beautiful that the villagers trafficked eagerly for them. Most desired of all, however, was the dagger or ax head made of the same unfamiliar substance. Thus inner Europe made its first acquaintance with copper.

194. Europe hears of the earliest ships in the far-away Nile

With rapt attention and awe-struck faces the Late Stone Age Europeans listened to the trader's tales, telling of huge ships (Fig. 13) which made the rude European dugouts (Fig. 5) look like tiny chips. They came out of the many mouths of the vast river of Egypt, greater than any other river in the world, said the trader. They were heavily loaded with the works of the Egyptian workshops which we have visited (§§ 52–59); and these things they carried across the Mediterranean to the islands and coasts of southeastern Europe or neighboring Asia. Thus at the dawn of history barbarian Europe looked across the Mediterranean to the great civilization of the Nile, as our own North American Indians fixed their wondering eyes on the first Europeans who landed in America, and listened to like strange tales of great and distant peoples.

195. Backwardness of the continent of Europe after receiving metal (3000–2000 B.C.)

Slowly Europe learned the use of metal.[1] In spite of much progress in craftsmanship and a more civilized life in general, the possession of metal did not enable the peoples of Europe to advance to a high type of civilization. They still remained without writing, without architecture in hewn-stone masonry, and without large sailing ships for commerce. In that portion of Europe nearest to Egypt, however, we find that civilization developed most rapidly; namely, around the Ægean Sea, to which we must now go.

[1] As we shall see, the Stone Age was only very gradually succeeded by the Copper or Bronze Age. Metal reached southeastern Europe not long after 3000 B.C., but in western and northern Europe it was almost 2000 B.C. before the beginning of the Copper Age, which soon became the Bronze Age.

Section 22. The Ægean World: the Islands

196. The Ægean Sea and the Ægean world

The Ægean Sea is like a large lake, almost completely encircled by the surrounding shores of Europe and Asia Minor, while the long island of Crete on the south lies like a breakwater, shutting off the Mediterranean from the Ægean Sea (see map, p. 56). From north to south this sea is at no point more than four hundred miles in length, while its width varies greatly. It is thus a good deal longer than Lake Michigan, and in places over twice as wide. Its coast is deeply indented with many bays and harbors, and it is so thickly sprinkled with hundreds of islands that it is often possible to sail from one island to another in an hour or two. This sea, with its islands and the fringe of shores around it, formed a region by itself, which we may call the Ægean world.

Fig. 55. Clay Tablet bearing a Record in the still Undeciphered Early Cretan Writing (§ 200)

197. Climate and products of the Ægean world

It enjoys a mild and sunny climate; for this region of the Mediterranean lies in the belt of rainy winters and dry summers. Here and there the bold and beautiful shores are varied by river valleys and small plains descending to the water's edge. On these *lowlands* wheat and barley, grapes and olives, may be cultivated without irrigation. Hence

bread, wine, and oil were the chief food, as among most Mediterranean peoples to this day. Wine is their tea and coffee, and oil is their butter. In the wet season the *uplands* are clothed with rich green pastures, where the shepherds may feed their flocks. Few regions of the world are better suited to be the home of happy, prosperous communities, grateful to the gods for all their plentiful gifts by land and sea.

198. The people of the Ægean world

FIG. 56. RUINS OF THE MAIN ENTRANCE TO THE CRETAN PALACE AT CNOSSUS, BUILT ABOUT 1800 B.C.

It is on the north side, facing the harbor three and a half miles away, from which a road leads up to this entrance. Notice the heavy masonry of stone — the only portion of the palace built for defense, the rest being of sun-baked brick (see § 201)

We call the earliest inhabitants of the Ægean world Ægeans. They were inhabiting this region when civilization dawned there (about 3000 B.C.), and they continued to live there for many centuries before the race known to us as the Greeks entered the region. These Ægeans, the predecessors of the Greeks in the northern Mediterranean, belonged to a great and gifted white race having no connection with the Greeks. They were, and their descendants still are, widely extended along the northern shores of the Mediterranean.[1]

[1] It has been thought that this race had its home in North Africa, spreading thence around the Mediterranean. The Egyptians and Semites may be branches of it.

We call them the Mediterranean race, but whence they came and their relationships with other peoples are questions as yet little understood.

199. The Ægean world and its nearness to the Orient

A map of the Mediterranean (p. 56) shows us that the Ægean world is the region where Europe thrusts forward its southernmost and easternmost peninsula (Greece), with its island outposts, especially Crete, reaching far out into the oriental waters so early crossed and recrossed by Egyptian vessels (§ 49). At the same time we should notice that the Ægean world is touched by Asia, which here throws out its westernmost heights (Asia Minor), so that Asia and Europe face each other across the waters of the Ægean. Asia Minor with its trade routes was therefore also a link which connected the Ægean world with the Fertile Crescent. We see here, then, that the older oriental civilizations were connected with the Ægean by two routes: first and earliest, by ship across the Mediterranean from Egypt; second, by land through Asia Minor from the Euphrates world.

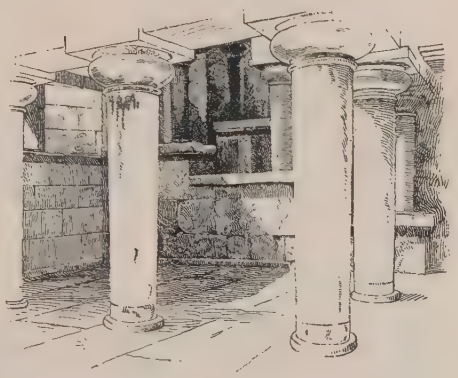


FIG. 57. A COLONNADED HALL AND STAIRCASE IN THE CRETAN PALACE AT CNOSSUS

The columns and roof of the hall are modern restorations. The hall is in the lower portion of the palace, and the stairway, concealed by the balustrade at the back of the hall, led up, by five flights of fifty-two massive steps, to the main floor of the palace (see § 202)

Because of their nearness to Egypt, it was on the Ægean *islands* and not on the *mainland* of Europe that the earliest

200. Rise of Cretan civilization under Egyptian influence (3000–2000 B.C.)

high civilization on the north side of the Mediterranean grew up. From the beginning the leader in this island civilization of the Ægeans was Crete. The little sun-dried-brick villages, forming the Late Stone Age settlements of Crete, received copper from the ships of the Nile by 3000 B.C. They soon learned to make bronze, and thus the Bronze Age began in Crete after

FIG. 58. AN OPEN-AIR THEATRAL AREA BESIDE THE CRETAN PALACE AT CNOSSUS (§ 202)

This area is about thirty by forty feet, and on two sides rise tiers of seats, accommodating four or five hundred spectators. Open-air athletic spectacles, like boxing matches, probably took place here to divert select groups of Cretan lords and ladies; the area is not large enough for the bullfights, in which the Cretans took great delight (compare the exciting bull hunt at end of Chapter IV, p. 106)

3000 B.C. While the great pyramids of Egypt were being built, the Cretan craftsmen were learning from their Egyptian neighbors the use of the potter's wheel, the closed oven for burning pottery (§ 54), and many other important things. For some time the Cretans had been employing rude picture records like Fig. 11. Under the influence of Egypt these picture signs gradually developed into real phonetic writing (Fig. 55), the earliest writing in the Ægean world (about 2000 B.C.).

201. Rise of the sea kings of Crete (2000 B.C.)

By 2000 B.C. the Cretans had become a highly civilized people. At Cnossus, not far from the middle of the northern coast (see map, p. 124), there grew up a Cretan kingdom which may finally have included a large part of the island. Their kings rapidly learned the art of navigation from the Egyptians. Their ships, the earliest sailed by Europeans, were so numerous that these rulers are often called the "sea kings of Crete."[1] Ruins of their earliest palace are still standing at Cnossus (Fig. 56).

202. The Grand Age in Crete and its art (about 1600 to 1500 B.C.)

A few centuries of such development carried Cretan civilization to its highest level, and the Cretans entered upon what we may call their Grand Age (about 1600 to 1500 B.C). The older palace of Cnossus (§ 201) gave way to a larger and more splendid building with a colonnaded hall, fine stairways (Fig. 57), and impressive open areas (Fig. 58). This building represented

FIG. 59. ONE OF THE LARGE DECORATED CRETAN JARS, NEARLY FOUR FEET HIGH, FOUND AT ANCIENT CNOSSUS

A fine example of the originality, power, and beauty of Cretan decorative art; although the leading design, the lotus flower, is drawn from Egypt, it is treated in the masterly Cretan manner (see § 202)

[1] One of the old Cretan sea kings, according to later tradition, was named Minos. For this reason early Cretan civilization has been called Minoan, and this is now the most common term applied to it. We prefer "Ægean" because this seems the natural term to apply to the earliest civilization which arose in the Ægean world. For the term "Mycenæan," see § 204.

the first real architecture in the northern Mediterranean. Its walls were painted with fresh and beautiful scenes from daily life, all aquiver with movement and action. After learning the Egyptian art of glassmaking the Cretans also adorned their buildings with glazed figures attached to the surface of the wall (compare Fig. 49). Noble vases (Fig. 59) were painted or modeled in relief with grand designs drawn from plant life or often from the life of the sea, where the Cretans were now more and more at home. This wonderful pottery belongs among the finest works of decorative art ever produced by any people. (See also *Ancient Times*, §§ 341–342 and Figs. 139–141.)

203. Crete to be regarded as the home of the third great civilization in the ancient world

Here, then, in the island of Crete, there had arisen a new world. The culture of the gifted Cretans, stimulated by the magic touch of riper Egyptian culture, shook off the Late Stone Age barbarism of early Europe and sprang into a vigorous life all its own. Beside the *two older centers* of civilization on the Nile and the Two Rivers in this age, there thus grew up here in the eastern Mediterranean, as a *third* great civilization, this splendid world of Crete and the Ægean Sea. It was this *third* great civilization which formed the earliest link between the civilization of the Orient and the later progress of man in Greece and western Europe.

Section 23. The Ægean World: the Mainland

204. Cretan civilization reaches the European mainland in Greece; the Mycenæan Age (about 1500 to 1200 B.C.)

As yet the mainland, both in Europe and in Asia Minor, had continued to lag behind the advanced civilization of the islands. Nevertheless, the fleets of Egypt and of Crete maintained commerce with the mainland of Greece. These ships naturally entered the southern bays, and especially the Gulf of Argos, which looks southward directly toward Crete (see map, p. 124). In the neighboring plain of Argos, therefore, Ægean chieftains were sufficiently civilized after 1500 B.C. to build the massive strongholds of Tiryns (Fig. 60) and Mycenæ

(Fig. 61). They imported works of Cretan and Egyptian art in pottery and metal (tailpiece, p. 106) which are to-day the earliest tokens of a life of higher refinement on the continent of Europe. This period (about 1500 to 1200 B.C.) is commonly known as the Mycenæan Age, after the town of Mycenæ, where this civilization was first discovered by excavation (see *Ancient Times*, § 364).

Along the Asiatic side of the Ægean Sea we find much earlier progress than on the European side. In the days when Crete was first receiving metal (after 3000 B.C.) there arose at the northwest corner of Asia Minor a shabby little Late Stone Age trading station

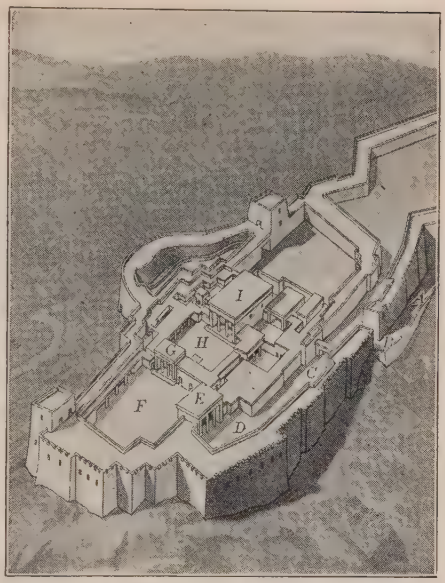


FIG. 60. RESTORATION OF THE CASTLE AND PALACE OF TIRYNS. (AFTER LUCKENBACH)

205. Civilization on the Asiatic mainland: Troy (about 3000 to 1200 B.C.)

Unlike the Cretan palaces, this dwelling of an Ægean prince is massively fortified. A rising road (*A*) leads up to the main gate (*B*), where the great walls are double. An assaulting party bearing their shields on the *left* arm must here (*C*, *D*) march with the exposed *right* side toward the city. By the gate (*E*) the visitor arrives in the large court (*F*) on which the palace faces. The main entrance of the palace (*G*) leads to its forecourt (*H*), where the excavators found the place of the household altar of the king (§ 241). Behind the forecourt (*H*) is the main hall of the palace (*I*). This was the earliest castle in Europe with outer walls of stone. The villages of the common people clustered about the foot of the castle hill. The whole formed the nucleus of a city-state (§ 223) in the plain of Argos

known as Troy. Although several times destroyed (Fig. 62) it was rebuilt and continued to flourish, until it finally controlled a kingdom of considerable extent in northwestern Asia Minor. About 1500 B.C. the splendid and cultivated city of Troy (Fig. 63) was a powerful stronghold which had grown up as a northern rival of that flourishing Cnossus we have seen in the south. The two rival cities faced each other from opposite ends of the Ægean (see map, p. 56), but we conclude that Cnossus was superior in civilization, for it is still uncertain whether the Trojans of this age could write.

FIG. 61. THE MAIN ENTRANCE OF THE CASTLE OF MYCENÆ, CALLED THE "LION GATE"

A good example of the heavy stone masonry of the two cities of the Ægean Grand Age, Tiryns and Mycenæ, built on the plain of Argos (see map, p. 124). Above the gate is a large triangular relief showing two lions grouped on either side of a central column, the whole doubtless forming the emblem of the city, or the "arms" of its kings. This balanced arrangement of animal figures came to the Ægeans from Babylonia through the Hittites (§ 207 and *Ancient Times*, Fig. 85)

206. Asia Minor, the land of the Hittites

Inland from Troy and the Ægean world, across the far-stretching hills and mountains of Asia Minor, were the settlements of a great group of white peoples who were kindred of the Ægeans in civilization, though not in blood. We call them Hittites. Although the larger part of their land lay outside of the Ægean world, nevertheless one end of it formed the eastern shores of the Ægean Sea. Asia Minor, their land, is

a vast peninsula from six hundred and fifty to seven hundred miles long and from three to four hundred miles wide, being about as large as the state of Texas. It is capable of supporting a large and prosperous population. Especially important were the rich deposits of iron at the northeastern corner. The Hittites

FIG. 62. THE MOUND OF ANCIENT TROY (ILIUM)

This mound was first dug into by Heinrich Schliemann (see *Ancient Times*, §§ 362–364). When he first visited it (see map, p. 56) in 1868, it was about one hundred and twenty-five feet high, and the Turks were cultivating grain on its summit. He excavated a pit like a crater in the top of the hill, passing downward through nine successive cities built each on the ruins of its predecessors (see *Ancient Times*, Fig. 150). At the bottom of his pit (about fifty feet deep) Schliemann found the original once bare hilltop about seventy-five feet high, on which the men of the Late Stone Age had established a small settlement of sun-baked-brick houses about 3000 B.C. (First City). Above the scanty ruins of this Late Stone Age settlement Schliemann found, in layer after layer, the ruins of the later cities, with the Roman buildings at the top. The entire depth of about fifty feet of ruins represented a period of about thirty-five hundred years from the lowest or First City (Late Stone Age) to the Ninth City (Roman) at the top. The Second City contained the earliest copper found in the series; the Sixth City was that of the Trojan War and the Homeric songs (§§ 231–233). Its masonry walls may be seen in Fig. 63

thus became the earliest distributors of iron when it began to displace bronze in the Mediterranean world and the East (§ 122).

207. The Hittites and Asia Minor as a link between the Fertile Crescent and the Ægean world

The Hittites first received civilization from their contact with the Fertile Crescent at the east end of Asia Minor. Babylonian traders brought in business documents in the form of cuneiform tablets, and in this way the Hittites learned to write their own language with cuneiform signs. Scholars have recently made progress in deciphering Hittite tablets bearing

such writing. At the same time the Hittites, by studying Egyptian hieroglyphics, invented a similar system of phonetic signs. These were used for writing on monuments of stone. Monuments (Fig. 64) bearing this Hittite hieroglyphic writing

FIG. 63. THE WALLS OF HOMERIC TROY, BUILT ABOUT 1500 B.C.

A section of the outer walls of the Sixth City in the mound of Troy (Fig. 62). The sloping outer surface of the walls faces toward the right; the inside of the city is on the left. These are the walls built in the days when Mycenæ (§ 204) was flourishing — walls which protected the old Ægean inhabitants of the place from the assaults of the Greeks in a remote war which laid it in ruins after 1200 B.C., a war of which vague traditions and heroic tales have survived in the Homeric poems (§§ 231–233). Schliemann never saw this Sixth City, the real Homeric city, which was not excavated until after his death

are found to-day throughout Asia Minor from the Ægean Sea on the west to the Euphrates on the east. In art and in architecture the Hittites likewise learned much both from the Nile and the Two Rivers.[1] They and their country formed a

[1] A fuller account of the civilization of the Hittites and of the important part they played as a link between the Fertile Crescent and the peoples of the Ægean, carrying many things of importance from Babylonia to the Greek world, will be found in *Ancient Times*, §§ 351–360.

connecting link by which influences from the Fertile Crescent passed westward to the Ægean world.

208. The Hittite Empire (about 1450 to 1200 B.C.)

By about 1450 B.C. the Hittites had succeeded in building up a powerful empire which included a large part of Asia Minor. Their capital was a strong fortified city (Fig. 65) on the east of the Halys River (see map, p. 56), called Khatti,

FIG. 64. A HITTITE PRINCE HUNTING DEER

The prince accompanied by his driver stands in the moving chariot, shooting with bow and arrow at the fleeing stag. A hound runs beside the horses. Over the scene is an inscription in Hittite hieroglyphs (§ 207). The whole is sculptured in stone, and forms a good example of the rather crude Hittite art, greatly influenced by that of Egypt and Babylonia, from which it gained much

which is an ancient form of the word "Hittite." Here they built splendid palaces and temples, and they protected the whole city with a massive wall (Fig. 65). They played a vigorous part in the great group of nations around the eastern end of the Mediterranean, after Egypt had established the first empire there (§§ 73–74), and they finally aided in the overthrow of the Egyptian Empire (§ 82). The Hittite Empire lasted from about 1450 to 1200 B.C. While Hittite civilization was inferior to that of Egypt and Babylonia, it

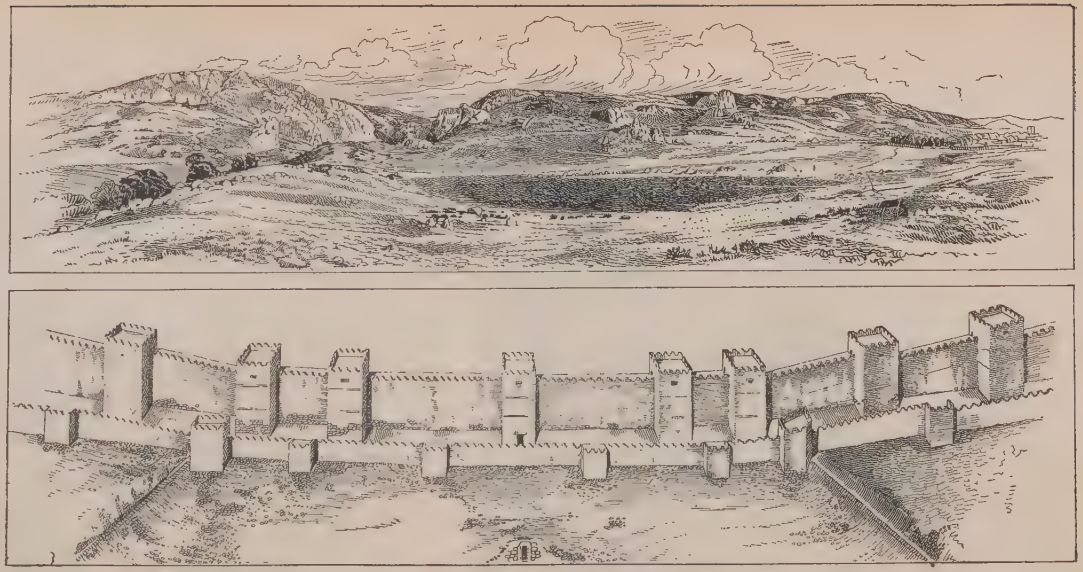


FIG. 65. THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF THE HITTITES IN CENTRAL ASIA MINOR (RECENTLY EXCAVATED)

The view at the top shows the ruins of the great walled city, which covered a group of hills like those of Rome. A modern village close by, called Boghaz-Köi, has given the place its modern name; but the Hittites called the city Khatti, the name from which "Hittite" is derived. The view below shows a portion of the masonry walls of the city as they once were, when the Hittite kings lived here in the thirteenth century B.C. (§ 208)

occupied a very important place in the group of civilizations forming the oriental neighbors of the Ægeans.[1]

209. The earliest civilized world on the north of the Mediterranean; the uncivilized Northern intruders

As we look at the map (p. 56), we see that Greece and the Ægean, together with Troy and Asia Minor, formed a great civilized world on the north of the Mediterranean at its eastern end. We have seen that this civilized world, the first that ever arose on the north side of the Mediterranean, had received civilization from the Orient on the south and east. On the *north*, however, there were still numerous uncivilized peoples. Some of them were not far from the Ægean. From behind the Balkan mountains and the Black Sea they were migrating toward the Mediterranean (Fig. 48). Some of these uncivilized northerners were the Greeks. They were soon to overwhelm the eastern Mediterranean, and with these Northern intruders we must begin a new chapter in the history of the eastern Mediterranean world.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 21. How did Europe first receive metal and whence? How did it cross the Mediterranean? At what point? In what part of Europe did civilization first take root?

SECTION 22. Describe the Ægean world in geography, climate, and products. Tell of its earliest inhabitants. Near what civilized world did the Ægean lie? As a result how was it influenced? Where was this influence first felt? What civilized things did Crete first receive? What city was leader of Cretan civilization? What name have its kings received? Why?

Had Europe ever had sailing ships before? When did the Grand Age begin in Crete? Tell of its architecture and decorative art. After the rise of Crete how many great centers of civilization were there? Name them. How did Cretan civilization influence the mainland of Europe?

SECTION 23. Where did the European mainland first feel the influence of Cretan civilization? Indicate on the map why this was.

[1] On the excavations of Schliemann, Sir Arthur Evans, and others, whose discoveries have revealed to us for the first time these lost civilizations of the northern Mediterranean, especially the Ægean world and Asia Minor, see *Ancient Times*, §§ 361–368.

What two towns sprang up in Greece? Point them out on the map. Describe the castle of Tiryns and draw a plan of its main parts. Had there been any such stone buildings in Europe before this?

Where did a similar town arise on the Asiatic side of the Ægean? Give its name. When did it reach a highly flourishing state? Describe the remains of the city (Figs. 62–63). Who "excavated" it? When was it destroyed by the Greeks?

What people lived inland from Troy? Whence did they receive their civilization? When did their empire arise? What did it include? What important metal did they first begin to mine and distribute in commerce? What barbarous people threatened the new civilization on the north side of the Mediterranean?

NOTE. The tailpiece below shows us an early Greek sea fight in the days of the kings. We see the Greek nobles at the time when they were taking to the water as pirates. The warriors are armed as on land (see headpiece, p. 123). Aristonothos, the artist who made this vase-painting, has inserted his name over the standard at the right, in the lower row, where the letters run to the right and drop down. It reads, "Aristonothos made it." This is not only the earliest signed vase (§ 228), but is likewise the earliest signed work of art, crude though it may be, in Europe. It shows us that the Greek artist was gaining increasing pride in his work, and it is one of the earliest signs of individuality in Greek history about 700 B.C.

CHAPTER VI

THE GREEK CONQUEST OF THE ÆGEAN WORLD AND THE AGE OF THE GREEK KINGS

Section 24. The Coming of the Greeks

210. Southward advance of the Indo-European line in Europe

The people whom we call the Greeks were a large group of tribes of the Indo-European race. We have already followed the migrations of the Indo-European parent people until their wanderings finally ranged them in a line from the Atlantic Ocean to northern India (§ 144 and Fig. 48). While their eastern kindred were drifting southward on the east side of the Caspian the Greeks on the west side of the Black Sea were likewise moving southward from their pastures along the Danube (see map, p. 140).

211. The Greeks enter the Greek peninsula

Driving their herds before them, with their families in rough carts drawn by horses, the rude Greek tribesmen must have looked out upon the fair pastures of Thessaly, the snowy summit of Olympus (Fig. 66), and the blue waters of the

Note. The above headpiece is a Greek vase-painting showing a battle scene from the Trojan War. In the middle is the fallen Achilles, for the possession of whose body a desperate combat is going on. Here we see the armor of the early Greek warriors — a round shield on the left arm, a long spear in the right hand. A heavy two-edged sword of iron was also carried, but the bow was not common. Only one warrior here uses it. The face is protected by a heavy helmet crowned by a tall plume of horsehair, and the body is covered by a *bronze* corselet, a jacket of metal reaching from the neck to the waist. Below the knees the legs are protected by *bronze* fronts called greaves. At the extreme left a comrade binds up a wounded warrior, on whose shield is the bird of his family arms. Behind him the goddess Athena watches the combat. The painting is done in the older style of black figures on a red ground (contrast headpiece, p. 148). The artist has inserted the names of the warriors, some written from left to right and some in the other direction.

Ægean not long after 2000 B.C. The Greek peninsula which they had entered contains about twenty-five thousand square miles.[1] It is everywhere cut up by mountains and inlets of the sea into small plains and peninsulas, separated from each other either by the sea or by the mountain ridges (Fig. 79).

212. The *wandering* Greek herdsmen and the *settled* Ægean civilization

FIG. 66. MOUNT OLYMPUS — THE HOME OF THE GODS

Although Mount Olympus is on the northern borders of Greece, it can be seen from Attica and the south end of Eubœa. It approaches ten thousand feet in height, and looks down upon Macedonia on one side and Thessaly on the other (see map, p. 124). As we look at it here from the south, we have a portion of the plain of Thessaly in the foreground, where the first Greeks entered Hellas (§ 211), and where later the earliest Homeric songs were composed (§ 231)

These barbarian Greek herdsmen from the northern grasslands (§ 140 and Fig. 48) had formerly led a *wandering* pastoral life like that which we have seen also in the southern grasslands. But now they were entering a *settled* life among the Ægean towns, like Tiryns and Mycenæ (§ 204). As the newcomers looked out across the waters, they could dimly discern the islands where flourishing towns were carrying on busy industries in pottery and metal, which the ships of Egypt (Fig. 13) and the Ægeans (§ 201) were distributing far and wide.

[1] It is about one sixth smaller than South Carolina — so small that Mount Olympus on the northern boundary of Greece can be seen over a large part of the peninsula. From the mountains of Sparta one can see from Crete to the mountains north of the Corinthian Gulf (see Fig. 79), a distance of two hundred and twenty-five miles.

BALKAN PEN
ILLYRIA
MACEDONIA
PAEONIA
Aigai
Pella
Therma
Stagira
Methone
Pydna
CHALCIDICE
Olynthus
Potidæa
ACROCERAUNIAN MTS.
EPIRUS
CAMBUNIAN MTS.
THERMAIC GULF
Mt. Olympus
Scione
Dodona
Larissa
PELASGIOTIS
THESSALY
Mt. Ossa
Corcyra
CORCYRA
Cynoscephalae
Mt. Pelion
Acheron R.
Penens
PINDUS MTS.
Pheræ
Thebes
Pharsalus
Sepias Pr.
Ambracia
PHTHIOTIS
Ambracian Gulf
Actium Pr.
Anactorium
Argos
Artemisium
LEUCAS
Thermopylae
MALIS
Stratus
ACARNANIA
ITHACA
Calydon
Chæronea
Aulis
Eretria
CEPHALLENIA
Pale
Same
Patræ
ACHAIA
Delium
Platæa
Thebes
Mt. Parnes
Decelea
Eleusis
Megara
Mt. Pentelicus
Athens
Erymanthus
Cyllene
Sicyon
Mt. Hymettus
Lisus
Peneus R.
Mt. Phlius
Phlius
Corinth
ISTHMUS
SARONIC GULF
ZACYNTHUS
ELIS
ARCADIA
Alpheus
Mantinea
Argos
Tiryns
Epidaurus
Olympia
PELOPONNESUS
Tegea
Lepreon
Trœzen
Hermion
HELLAS
Ithome
MESSENIA
Sparta
ARGOLIC GULF
Pylos
SPHACTERIA I.
Acritas Pr.
LACONIA
Malea Pr.
Tænarum Pr.
CYTHERA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Cydonia
GREECE
IN THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80
20 21 Longitude 22 East from 23 Greenwich 24

SYMPLEGADES IAE.
28
29
25
26
27
Perinthus
Selymbria
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Bosporus
THRACE
THASOS
SAMOTHRACE
Aegospotami
CHERSONESUS
Sestus
Abydos
Lampsacus
Cyzicus
BITHYNIA
IMBROS
Granicus R.
Hellespont (Dardanelles)
Ilium (Troy)
Sigeum
LAND OF TROY
LEMNOS
TENEDOS
Mt. Ida
Antandrus
MYSIA
Methymna
LESBOS
Mytilene
Atarneus
Pergamum
ARGINUSÆ IS.
Cyme
Phocæa
Magnesia
Hermus R.
Sardis
CHIOS
Chios
Erythræ
Clazomenæ
Smyrna
LYDIA
PHRYGIA
Teos
Lebedos
Colophon
Ephesus
ANDROS
SAMOS
Samos
TENOS
ICARIA
Priene
Mæander R.
Pen. of Mycale
Mycale Mt.
Miletus
Latmos Mt.
DELOS
PAROS
NAXOS
LEBYNTHOS
Halicarnassus
AMORGOS
COS
Cnidus
LYCIA
THERA
RHODES
Lindus
CARPATHUS
CRETE
Cnossus
Ida Mt.
Gortyna
Phæstus
Dicte Mt.
SEA
L.L. POATES CO., N.Y.

213. The barbarian Greek nomads on the margin of the great oriental world

It was to be long, however, before these inland Greek shepherds would themselves venture timidly out upon the great waters which they were viewing for the first time. Had the gaze of the Greek nomads been able to penetrate beyond the Ægean isles, they would have seen a vast panorama of great and flourishing oriental states. For on reaching the Ægean the Greeks had entered the borders of the great oriental world. Under the influences of the Orient, therefore, the Greeks were now to go forward toward the development of a civilization higher than any the Orient had yet produced, the highest indeed which ancient man ever attained.

214. Achæan Greeks followed by the Dorian Greeks in the Peloponnesus by 1500 B.C.

Gradually their vanguard (called the Achæans) pushed southward into the Peloponnesus, and doubtless some of them mingled with the dwellers in the villages which were grouped under the walls of Tiryns and Mycenæ (Figs. 60, 61). Some of the Greek leaders may have captured these Ægean fortresses.[1] But our knowlege of the situation in Greece is very meager because the peoples settled there could not yet write, and therefore have left no written documents to tell the story. It is evident, however, that a second wave of Greek nomads (called the Dorians) reached the Peloponnesus by 1500 B.C. and subdued their earlier kinsmen (the Achæans) as well as the Ægean townsmen, the original inhabitants of the region.

215. The Greeks take possession of the Ægean world; Dorians in Crete and the southern Ægean

The Dorians did not stop at the southern limits of Greece, but, learning a little navigation from their Ægean predecessors, they passed over to Crete, where they must have arrived by 1400 B.C. Cnossus, unfortified as it was, must have fallen an easy prey to the invading Dorians. They took possession of the island, and likewise seized the other southern islands of the Ægean. Between 1300 and 1000 B.C. the Greek tribes took possession of the remaining islands, as well as the coast of Asia Minor, — the Dorians in the south, the Ionians in the middle, and the Æolians in the north. Here a memorable Greek expedition in the twelfth century B.C., after a long

[1] The student will recall a similar situation, as the incoming Hebrew nomads took the strongholds of their predecessors in Palestine, like Jerusalem (§ 171).

siege, captured and burned the prosperous city of Troy (§ 205), a feat which the Greeks never after forgot (§ 231). Thus during the thousand years between 2000 and 1000 B.C. the Greeks took possession not only of the whole Greek peninsula, but likewise of the entire Ægean world.

FIG. 67. PHILISTINE WARRIORS — A CRETAN TRIBE DRIVEN OUT BY THE GREEKS

These men with tall, feathered headdress are Ægean fugitives driven from their homes in Crete by the Greek invaders (§ 216). They were taken prisoners by Ramses III, the last of the Egyptian emperors, in the twelfth century B.C. He had this picture of them, with hands pinioned, engraved on the temple wall in Egyptian Thebes (§ 83)

216. Flight of the Ægean upper classes and fall of Ægean civilization by 1200 B.C.

The northern Mediterranean all along its eastern end was thus being seized by invading peoples of Indo-European blood coming in from the north. The result was that both the Ægeans and their Hittite neighbors in Asia Minor were overwhelmed by the advancing Indo-European line (Fig. 48). The

Hittite Empire (§ 208) was crushed, and the leading families among the Ægeans fled by sea, chiefly to the south and east. As they sought new homes in Africa and Asia, they helped to overthrow the tottering Egyptian Empire, especially after 1200 B.C. (§ 83). In only one place were they able to land in sufficient numbers to settle and form a nation. This was on the coast of southern Palestine (see map, p. 96), where a tribe of Cretans called Philistines (Fig. 67) founded a nation which proved very dangerous to the Hebrews. Palestine is still called after the Philistines, of which the word "Palestine" is a later form. By 1200 B.C., therefore, the splendid Ægean towns and their wonderful civilization (§§ 201–203) had been completely crushed by the incoming Greek barbarians.

217. Mingling of Ægeans and Greeks

The Ægean civilization, the earliest that Europe had gained, thus almost disappeared. But much of the Ægean population had not fled. Remaining in their old homes, they feebly carried on the old Ægean industries, and these formed part of the foundation on which the barbarian Greeks were yet to build up the highest civilization of the ancient world. These Ægeans who had not fled then mingled with their Greek conquerors, just as we have seen the civilized Canaanites of Palestine mingling with the invading Hebrew nomads (§ 170). This commingling of Ægeans and Greeks produced a mixed race, the people known to us as the Greeks of history. Although the Ægeans thus survived, they lost their language; Greek, the language of the conquerors, became the speech of this mixed race, and so it has remained to this day.

Section 25. The Nomad Greeks make the Transition to the Settled Life

218. Earliest social institutions of the Greeks

Long after the Greeks had seized the Ægean world, they remained a barbarous people of flocks and herds. We remember that the nomads along the Fertile Crescent possessed no organized government, for there was no public business which

demanded it. Such was exactly the condition of the nomad Greeks when they began a settled life in the Ægean world. From their old wandering life on the grasslands they carried with them the loose groups of families known as tribes. Within each tribe was an indefinite number of smaller groups of more intimate families called "brotherhoods." A "council" of the old men ("elders") occasionally decided matters in dispute, or questions of tribal importance. Probably once a year, or at some important feast, an "assembly" of all the weapon-bearing men of the tribe might be held, to express its opinion of a proposed war or migration. These are the germs of later European political institutions and even of our own in the United States to-day.[1]

219. Rise of Greek kings

It was perhaps after the Greeks had found kings over such Ægean cities as Mycenæ (§ 204) that Greek kings began to appear. Thus the old-time nomad leaders whom they had once followed in war, religion, and the settlement of disputes became rude shepherd kings of the tribes.

220. Greeks begin agriculture

Meantime the Greek shepherds slowly began the cultivation of land. This forced them to give up a wandering life, to build houses, and live in permanent homes. Nomad instincts and nomad customs were not easily rooted out however. For flocks and herds continued to make up the chief wealth of the Greeks for centuries after they had taken up agriculture.

221. Rise of land ownership and its consequences in government and society

As each Greek tribe settled down and became a group of villages, the surrounding land was divided among the families by lot. Private ownership of land by families gradually resulted. As a consequence there arose disputes about boundaries, about inheritances in land (§ 270), and much other legal business. The settlement of such business tended to create a government. During the four centuries from 1000 to 600 B.C.

[1] Compare the House of Lords (= the above "council") and the House of Commons (= the above "assembly") in England, or the Senate (derived from the Latin word meaning "old man") and the House of Representatives in the United States.

we see the Greeks struggling with the problem of learning how to transact the business of settled landholding communities.

222. Lack of writing

No one had ever yet written a word of the Greek language in this age when the Greeks were adopting the settled agricultural life. Cretan writing (§ 200) had perished. This lack of writing among the Greeks greatly increased the difficulties as government transactions began and could not be recorded. There arose in some communities a "rememberer," whose duty it was to notice carefully business matters like the terms of a contract or the amount of a loan, that he might remember these and innumerable other things, which in a more civilized society are recorded in writing.

223. Rise of the city-state

In course of time the group of villages forming the nucleus of a tribe grew together and merged at last into a city. This was the most important process in Greek political development; for the *organized city* became the only nation which the Greeks ever knew. Each city-state was a nation; each had its own laws, its own army and gods, and each citizen felt a patriotic duty toward his own city and no other. Overlooking the city from the heights in its midst was the king's castle (Fig. 60), which we call the "citadel," or "acropolis." Eventually, the houses and the market below were protected by a wall. The king had now become a revered and powerful ruler of the city, and guardian of the worship of the city gods. King and Council sat all day in the market and adjusted the business and the disputes between the people. These continuous sessions for the first time created a State and an uninterrupted government.

224. Rise of Greek civilization in the Age of the Kings (1000–750 B. C.)

There were soon hundreds of such Greek city-states. Indeed the entire Ægean world came to be made up of such tiny nations. It was while the Greeks were thus living in these little city-kingdoms under kings that Greek civilization arose, especially during the last two and a half centuries of the rule of the kings (1000–750 B. C.).

Section 26. Greek Civilization in the Age of the Kings

225. Memories of Ægean civilization, and the dawn of Greek civilization

Long after 1000 B. C. the life of the Greeks continued to be rude and even barbarous. Here and there memories of the old Ægean splendor still lingered, as in the plain of Argos. Above the Greek village at Mycenæ still towered the massive stone walls (Fig. 61) of the ancient Ægean princes, who had long before passed away. To these huge walls the Greeks looked up with awe-struck faces and thought that they had been built by vanished giants called Cyclops. Without any skill in craftsmanship, the Greek shepherds and peasants were slow to take up building, industries, and manufacturing on their own account. They made a beginning at pottery, using the same methods employed by the Ægean potters in producing their fine ware in Crete a thousand years earlier (Fig. 59).

226. Oriental influences carried by Phœnician merchants

When we remember how civilization arose among the Ægeans (§§ 199–201), we perceive that the Greeks were now exposed to the same oriental influences which had first brought civilized life to the Ægean peoples. The Greek townsmen had to buy all the ordinary conveniences, — which they were still unable to manufacture for themselves. All these things came to them from across the sea. In the harbor they found Phœnician ships loaded with gorgeous clothing, perfume flasks made of glass and alabaster; porcelain, bronze, and silver tableware wrought with splendid decorative patterns (headpiece, p. 137), polished ivory combs, and plentiful jewelry.

227. The spread of Phœnician commerce and industries

We see, then, that after the fall of the Egyptian Empire and the destruction of the Ægean towns the ships of both the Egyptians and the Ægeans, the first traders in the Mediterranean, had disappeared. The Phœnicians (§ 96) on the west end of the Fertile Crescent, along the Syrian coast (Fig. 68), were therefore taking advantage of this opportunity. They became the greatest merchants of the Mediterranean for several centuries after 1000 B. C. They pushed westward beyond the

Ægean and were the discoverers of the western Mediterranean. Their colony of Carthage in north Africa (see map, p. 140) became the most important commercial state in the western Mediterranean, and they even planted settlements as far away as the Atlantic coast of Spain. Thus the Phœnicians were carrying the art and industries of the Orient throughout the Mediterranean.

FIG. 68. THE ANCIENT PHŒNICIAN HARBOR OF SIDON AS IT NOW APPEARS

It was from this harbor that the Phœnician colonists sailed forth to establish new cities in the western Mediterranean, especially Carthage (§ 227). The town seen across the harbor is entirely modern, for the ancient city was again and again destroyed and rebuilt. Here the Phœnician ships were loaded with the goods manufactured in the city (see § 226 and *Ancient Times*, Figs. 157 and 158), to be carried to the Greeks and other Mediterranean peoples; and here an alphabet first came into common use (§ 228)

228. Phœnicians devise an alphabet and carry it to Greece

But the Phœnicians brought to the Greeks a crowning gift of far more value than manufactured goods. Before 1000 B.C. the Phœnician merchants had given up the inconvenient clay tablet of Babylonia (Fig. 37), used all along the Fertile Crescent, and they were writing on imported Egyptian papyrus paper. They likewise invented their own system of twenty-two signs for writing their own language. These signs were

alphabetic letters, the first system containing no word-signs or syllable-signs (§§ 32–33). The Greeks soon became familiar with the Phœnician tradesman's sheets of pale yellow paper, bearing his bills, and receipts, and at last they began to write Greek words by using the Phœnician letters. Thus an alphabet for the first time entered Europe. By 700 B.C. the Greek potters had begun to write their names on the jars which they painted (tailpiece, p. 122), and writing was shortly afterward common among Greeks of all classes. From the alphabet which the Phœnicians thus brought to the Greeks, all the alphabets of the civilized world have been derived, including our own.

229. Writing materials (pen, ink, and paper) reach Europe

Along with the alphabet the equipment for using it — that is, pen, ink, and paper — for the first time came into Europe. The Greeks received all their paper from Egypt through the Phœnicians. Hence our word "paper," derived from "papyrus" (§ 34). The Greeks also called papyrus "byblos" after the Phœnician city of Byblos, from which they received it. Thus arose the Greek word "biblia" for books, and from this word has come our word "Bible." This English word "Bible," once the name of a Phœnician city, is a living evidence of the origin of books and the paper of which they are made in the ancient Orient, from which the Greeks received so much.[1]

230. Warfare and weapons

The Greek nobles of this age loved war and were devoted to fighting and plundering. Their protective armor was of bronze, but their weapons were at this time commonly of iron (§§ 122, 206). It was only men of some wealth who possessed a fighting outfit like this. They were the leading warriors. The ordinary troops, lacking armor, were of little consequence in battle, which consisted of a series of single combats, each between two heroes. Thus each man's individual skill, experience, and daring won the battle, rather than the discipline of drilled masses.

231. Rise of the hero songs

Men delighted to sing of valiant achievements on the field of battle and to tell of the stirring deeds of mighty heroes. In the

[1] A fuller account of the remarkable achievements of the Phœnicians will be found in *Ancient Times*, §§ 394–405.

pastures of Thessaly, where the singer looked up at the cloud-veiled summit of Mount Olympus (Fig. 66), the home of the gods, there early grew up a group of such songs telling many a story of the feats of gods and heroes, the earliest literature of the Greeks. Into these songs were woven also vague memories of remote wars which had actually occurred, especially the war in which the Greeks had captured and destroyed the splendid city of Troy (§ 215 and Fig. 63). Probably by 1000 B.C. some of these songs had crossed to the coasts and islands of Ionia on the Asiatic side of the Ægean Sea.

232. The Ionian singers

Here arose a class of professional bards who graced the feasts of king and noble with songs of battle and adventure recited to the music of the harp. Framed in exalted and ancient forms of speech, and rolling on in stately measures,[1] these heroic songs resounded through many a royal hall — the oldest literature born in Europe. After the separate songs had greatly increased in number, they were finally woven together by the bards into a connected whole — a great epic series, especially clustering about the traditions of the Greek expedition against Troy. They were not the work of one man, but a growth of several centuries, the work of generations of singers, some of whom were still living even after 700 B.C. It was then that they were first written down (§ 228).

233. Homer

Among these ancient singers there seems to have been one of great fame whose name was Homer (see *Ancient Times*, Fig. 161). His reputation was such that he was supposed to have been the author of two great series of songs: the *Iliad*,[2] the story of the Greek expedition against Troy; and the *Odyssey*, or the tale of the wanderings of the hero Odysseus on his return from Troy. These are the only two series of songs that have entirely survived; even the ancient world had its doubts about the Homeric authorship of the Odyssey.

[1] These were in hexameter; that is, six feet to a line. This Greek verse is the oldest literary form in Europe.

[2] So named after Ilium, the Greek name of Troy.

234. The Homeric songs our earliest literary record of the Greeks

These ancient bards not only gave the world its greatest epic in the Iliad, but they were, moreover, the earliest Greeks to put into permanent written form their thoughts regarding the world of gods and men. They gave to the disunited Greeks a common literature and the inspiring belief that they had once all taken part in a common war against Asia.

235. The Homeric songs and Greek religion

At that time the Greeks had no other sacred books, and the Homeric songs became the veritable Bible of Greece. Just as devout Hebrews were taught much about their God by the beautiful tales of Him in the narrative of the great Unknown Historian (§ 175), so the wonderful Homeric songs brought vividly before the Greeks the life of the gods. Homer became the religious teacher of the Greeks.

236. Zeus and the dwelling of the gods on Mount Olympus; Apollo

In the Homeric songs and in the primitive tales about the gods, which we call myths, the Greeks heard how the gods dwelt in veiled splendor among the clouds on the summit of Mount Olympus. There, in his cloud palace, Zeus the Sky-god, with the lightning in his hand, ruled the gods like an earthly king. Each of the gods controlled as his own a realm of nature or of the affairs of men. Apollo, the Sun-god, whose beams were golden arrows, was the deadly archer of the gods. But he also shielded the flocks of the shepherds and the fields of the plowman, and he was a wondrous musician. Above all he knew the future ordained by Zeus and when properly consulted at his shrine at Delphi (Fig. 74) he could tell anxious inquirers what the future had in store for them. These qualities gave him a larger place in the hearts of all Greeks than Zeus himself, and in actual worship he became the most beloved god of the Greek world.

237. Athena, protectress of Greek cities

Athena, the greatest goddess of the Greeks, seems to have been a warrior goddess, and the Greeks loved to think of her with shining weapons, protecting the Greek cities. But she held out her protecting hand over them also in times of peace, as the potters shaped their jars, the smiths wrought their metal, or the women wove their wool. Thus she became the wise and gracious protectress of the peaceful life of industry and

art. Of all her divine companions she was the wisest in counsel, and an ancient tale told how she had been born in the very brain of her father Zeus, from whose head she sprang forth full-armed. As the divine foster mother of all that was best in Greek life, she was the loveliest of the divine powers. These three then, Zeus, Apollo, and Athena, became the leading divinities of the Greek world.

238. Poseidon, Demeter, Dionysus, Hermes, Artemis, Hera, and Aphrodite

There was a further group of great gods, each controlling some special realm. In a brazen palace deep under the waters, Poseidon ruled the sea. The ancient Earth Mother, whom they called Demeter, brought forth the produce of the soil. At the same time they looked also to another earth god, Dionysus, for the fruit of the grapevine, and they rejoiced in the wine which he gave them. An old moon spirit, Hermes, was the messenger of the gods, with winged feet, doing the bidding of the gods, but he was also the patron of the intercourse of men, and hence the god of trade and commerce. On the other hand, some of the Greeks, seeing the moon above the forest margin, believed it to be a goddess, a divine huntress riding through the forests at night. They called her Artemis. Others, however, had fancied the moon to belong in the sky as the wife of Zeus, whom they called Hera, and she became the protectress of marriage. The Semitic goddess of love, whom we have met on the Fertile Crescent as Ishtar (§ 138), had now passed over from the Syrian cities, to become likewise the Greek goddess of love, whom the Greeks called Aphrodite.

239. The Greek gods at first show human defects of character

All these divinities the Greeks pictured in human form, and they thought of them as possessing human traits, both good and bad. Homer pictures to us the family quarrels between the august Zeus and his wife Hera, just as such things must have occurred in the household life of the Greeks. Such gods were not likely to require anything better in the conduct of men.[1]

[1] Greek religion was the result of a long development, which began on the grasslands, and also among the Ægeans, some of whose beliefs the Greeks inherited. This development continued far down in Greek history. See *Ancient Times*, §§ 412–423.

240. Greek beliefs about the dead

One reason why the Greeks did not yet think that the gods required right conduct of men was their notion of life after death. They believed that all men passed at death into a gloomy kingdom beneath the earth (Hades), where the fate of good men did not differ from that of the wicked. As a special favor of the gods, the heroes, men of mighty and godlike deeds, were granted immortality and permitted to enjoy a life of endless bliss in the beautiful Elysian Fields, or in the Islands of the Blest, somewhere far to the west, toward the unexplored ocean.

241. Lack of temples

The symbols of the great gods were set up in every house, while in the dwelling of the king there was a special room which served as a kind of shrine for them. There was also an altar in the forecourt where sacrifices could be offered under the open sky.[1] In so far as the gods had any dwellings at all, we see that they were in the houses of men, and there probably were no temples as yet.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 24. To what great race do the Greeks belong? Whence did their ancestors come? How did they enter Greece? Were they nomads or townsmen? Who were two of the earliest Greek peoples? What became of the old Ægean people of Greece? What happened to Crete? What Ægean lands did the Greeks finally hold?

SECTION 25. Describe the transition of the Greeks from nomad to settled life. Describe their government and its different institutions. What problems did their new settled life create? What about writing among them? What kind of Greek states arose?

SECTION 26. Did the Greeks take up civilization quickly? Did they receive much from the old Ægeans? To what civilized influences were the Greeks exposed after settling in the Ægean? Who brought such influences to the Greeks? How? What was the greatest thing the Phœnicians brought to the Greeks? How did it finally benefit *us*?

Describe warfare in this age. What songs arose? Who was their reputed author? Tell about the leading Greek gods. What can you say of the temples at first?

[1] See the altar in the forecourt of the prehistoric castle of Tiryns (Fig. 60). The place of the altar is marked by a little rectangle in the front part of the forecourt *H*, behind the entrance *G*.

CHAPTER VII

THE AGE OF THE NOBLES AND GREEK EXPANSION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

Section 27. The Disappearance of the Kings and the Leadership of the Nobles

242. Geographical influences against a union of all Greeks in one nation

We have seen Greek civilization beginning under oriental influences. In its *political* development, however, the Greek world showed striking differences from what we have seen in the Orient. There we watched each group of early city-states finally uniting into a large and powerful nation, like Egypt on the Nile or Babylonia on the Two Rivers. In Greece, however, there were influences which tended to prevent such a union of the Greek city-states into one nation. In the first place the country was cut up by mountain ridges and deep bays, so that the different communities were quite separated. Moreover the

Note. The above headpiece represents a silver platter of beautiful workmanship made by a Phœnician silversmith, and now in the Berlin Museum. A circular stream of water surrounds a rosette in the middle. On the water are four Nile boats (one of them in the form of a swan), outside of which is a circular border of papyrus flowers. The Phœnicians were very skillful in such metal work, which they thus adorned with Egyptian and Assyrian designs. Pieces of it have been found as far west as Spain and as far east as Nineveh, whither they were carried by the Phœnician merchants (§ 227).

cities of Greece on the one hand were likewise separated from their kindred in the islands and in Asia Minor on the other hand.

243. Other influences operating against political unity

Furthermore the Greeks had by this time acquired permanent local habits and local dialects, showing more differences than those between our own Louisiana and New England. Each Greek community displayed such intense devotion to its own town and its own local gods that we find in Greece after 1000 B.C. scores of little city-states; including the islands and Asia Minor there must have been several hundred of them (§ 224).

244. The four unions: Argos and Sparta

Four regions on the mainland of Greece, each forming a pretty clearly outlined geographical whole, like the peninsula of Laconia or that of Attica (see map, p. 124), permitted the union of city-states into a larger nation. The oldest of these four nations seems to have been Argos (map, p. 124). In this plain the town of Argos subdued the ancient strongholds of Mycenæ and Tiryns (Figs. 60 and 61) and others in the vicinity, forming the nation of Argos and giving its name to the plain. In the same way the kings of Sparta conquered the two peninsulas on the south of them and finally also the land of the Messenians on the west. The two kingdoms of Argos and Sparta thus held a large part of the Peloponnese.

245. Athens and Thebes

In the Attic peninsula, likewise, the little city-kingdoms were slowly absorbed by Athens, which at last gained control of the entire peninsula. On the northern borders of Attica the region of Bœotia fell under the leadership of Thebes, but the other Bœotian cities were too strong to be wholly subdued. Bœotia, therefore, did not form a nation but a group of city-states in alliance, with Thebes at the head of the alliance. Elsewhere no large and permanent unions were formed. Sparta and Athens led the two most important unions among all the Greeks. Let it be borne in mind that such a nation remained a city-state in spite of its increased territory. The nation occupying the Attic peninsula was called Athens, and every peasant in Attica was called an Athenian. The city government of Athens covered the whole Attic peninsula.

246. The Greek state and the struggle toward democracy

In the matter of governing such a little city-state the Greeks entered upon a new stage of their development about 750 B.C., as the common people began the struggle to better their lot. As we shall see, this long and bitter struggle finally resulted in giving the people in some Greek states so large a share in governing that the form of the government might be called *democracy*. This is a word of Greek origin, meaning "the rule of the people," and the Greeks were the first people of the ancient world to gain it.

247. Rise of a noble class, the eupatrids

The cause of this struggle was not only the corrupt rule of the kings but also the oppression of the wealthy *nobles*. We have watched these men of wealth buying the luxuries of the Phœnician merchants (§ 226). They now stood in the way, opposing the rights of the peasants. By fraud, unjust seizure of lands, union of families in marriage, and many other influences, the strong men of ability and cleverness were able to enlarge their lands. Thus there had arisen a class of nobles whom we call *hereditary*, because they inherited their wealth and rank. These large landholders and men of wealth were also called *eupatrids*.

248. Political and military power of the eupatrids

Their fields stretched for some miles around the city and its neighboring villages. In order to be near the king or secure membership in the Council (§§ 218, 223) and thus control the government, these men often left their lands and lived in the city. Such was the power of the eupatrids that the Council finally consisted only of men of this class. Wealthy enough to buy costly weapons, with leisure for continual exercise in the use of arms, these nobles had also become the chief protection of the State in time of war (§ 230).

249. Misery and weakness of the peasants

Thus grew up a sharp distinction between the city community and the peasants living in the country. The country peasant was obliged to divide the family lands with his brothers. His fields were therefore small, and he was poor. He went about clad in a goatskin, and his labors never ceased. Hence he had no leisure to learn the use of arms, nor any way to

meet the expense of purchasing them. He and his neighbors were therefore of small account in war (§ 230). Indeed, he was fortunate if he could struggle on and maintain himself and family from his scanty fields. Many of his neighbors sank into debt, lost their lands to the noble class, and themselves became day laborers for more fortunate men, or, still worse, they sold themselves to pay their debts and thus became slaves. These day laborers and slaves had no political rights and were not permitted to vote in the Assembly.

250. The weakness of the Assembly

If the peasant desired to exert any influence in government, he was obliged to go up to the city and attend the Assembly of the people there. When he did so, he found but few of his fellows from the countryside gathered there — a dingy group, clad in their rough goatskins. On the other hand, the powerful Council in beautiful oriental raiment (§ 226) was backed by the whole class of wealthy nobles, all trained in war and splendid in their glittering weapons. Intimidated by the powerful nobles, the meager Assembly, which had once been a muster of all the weapon-bearing men of the tribe (§ 218), became a feeble gathering of a few peasants and lesser townsmen with little political power. The peasant therefore returned to his little farm and was less and less inclined to attend the Assembly at all.

251. The decline of the kings (eighth century B.C.)

It was, however, not only the people whose rights the nobles were disregarding; for they also began to consider themselves the equals of the king. The king could not carry on a war without them or control the state without their help. By 750 B.C. the office of the king had in some states become merely a name. While the king was in some cases violently overthrown, in most states the nobles established from among themselves certain *elective officers* to take charge of matters formerly controlled by the king.

252. Triumph of the nobles; fall of the kings (750–650 B.C.)

Thus in Athens they appointed a noble to be leader in war, while another noble was chosen as *archon*, or ruler, to assist the king in attending to the increasing business of the State. The Athenian king was thus gradually but peacefully deprived of

COLONIAL EXPANSION OF THE GREEKS AND PHŒNICIANS DOWN TO THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

his powers, until he became nothing more than the leader of the people in religious matters. In Sparta the power of the king was checked by the appointment of a second king, and on this plan Sparta continued to retain her kings. Elsewhere in the century between 750 and 650 B.C. the kingship quite generally disappeared, although it lingered on in some states until long after this time. The result of the political and social struggle was thus the triumph of the nobles, who were henceforth in control in many states.

253. Survival of the shrines in the old palaces

With the disappearance of the king, the royal castle (Fig. 60) was of course unoccupied. As it fell into decay, the shrines and holy places which it contained (§ 241) were still protected and revered as religious buildings, and, as we shall see in discussing architecture, they became temples. In this way the castle of the ancient Attic kings on the citadel mount, called the Acropolis of Athens (Plan, p. 188, and Fig. 81), was followed by the famous temples there.

Section 28. Greek Expansion in the Age of the Nobles

254. Beginnings of commerce and shipbuilding among the Greeks

The Age of the Nobles witnessed another great change in Greek life. The Greek merchants gradually took up sea trade. When the Phœnician merchants entered the Ægean harbors they now found them more and more occupied by Greek ships. Especially important was the traffic between the Greek cities of the Asiatic coast on the east and Attica and Eubœa on the west (European) side. Among the Asiatic Greeks it was the Ionian cities which led in this commerce. The Ægean waters gradually grew familiar to the Greek communities, until the sea routes became far easier lines of communication than the country roads.

255. Greek colonies in the Black Sea

At this point the poverty of the peasants (§ 249) became an important influence, leading the Greek farmers to seek new homes and new lands beyond the Ægean world. Greek

merchants were not only trafficking with the northern Ægean, but their vessels had penetrated the great northern sea, which they called the "Pontus," known to us as the Black Sea (see map, p. 140). Before 600 B.C. they girdled the Black Sea with their towns and settlements, reaching the broad grain-fields along the lower Danube and the iron mines of the old Hittite country (§ 206 and map, p. 56).

256. Greek colonies in the East — southern Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Africa

In the East, along the southern coasts of Asia Minor, Greek expansion was stopped by the Assyrian Sennacherib (§ 120). The Greek colonies of Cyprus (see map, p. 140) long remained the easternmost outposts of the Greek world. In the South they found a friendly reception in Egypt, and west of the Delta also they eventually founded Cyrene (map, p. 140).

257. Discovery of the West

It was the unknown West, however, which became the America of the early Greek colonists. Looking westward from the western coast of Greece the seamen could discover the shores of the heel of Italy, only fifty miles distant. When they had once crossed to it, they coasted around Sicily and far into the West. Here was a new world. Although the Phœnicians were already there (§ 227), its discovery was as momentous for the Greeks as that of America for later Europe (see map, p. 140).

258. Greek colonies in the West — southern Italy

By 750 B.C. their colonies appeared in this new Western world, and within a century they fringed southern Italy from the heel to a point well above the instep north of Naples. Hence this region of southern Italy came to be known as "Great Greece" (see map, p. 256). As the Greeks were by this time superior in civilization to all the other dwellers in Italy, *the civilized history of that great peninsula begins with the settlement of the Greeks there.* They were the first to bring into Italy such things as writing, literature, architecture, and art (§§ 500–505 and headpiece, p. 254).

259. Sicily and the Far West

The Greek colonists crossed over also to Sicily (see Plate, p. 144), where they drove out the Phœnician trading posts except at the western end of the island; there the Phœnicians

held their own. These Greek colonists in the West shared in the higher life of the homeland; and Syracuse, at the southeast corner of the island of Sicily, became at one time the most cultivated, as well as the most powerful, city of the Greek world. At Massilia (Marseilles), on the coast of later France, the Western Greeks founded a town which controlled the trade up the Rhone valley.

260. Racial aspects of ancient colonization in the Mediterranean

Thus, under the rule of the nobles, the Greeks expanded till they stretched from the Black Sea along the north shore of the Mediterranean almost to the Atlantic. In this imposing movement we recognize a part of the far-outstretched western wing of the Indo-European line (see § 141 and Fig. 48); but at the same time we must notice that in the Phœnician colony of Carthage the Semite had likewise flung out his western wing along the *southern* Mediterranean, facing the Indo-European peoples on the *north* (Fig. 48 and § 227).

261. Tendency toward the creation of a Mediterranean world; what civilization was to conquer it?

This wide expansion of Greeks and Phœnicians tended at last to produce a great Mediterranean world. Was the leading civilization in that Mediterranean world to be *Greek*, springing from the Greeks and their colonies, or was it to be *oriental*, carried by the Phœnician galleys and spread by their far-reaching commercial settlements? That was the great question, and its answer was to depend on how Greek civilization succeeded in its growth and development at home in the Ægean, to which we must now return.

Section 29. Greek Civilization in the Age of the Nobles

262. Influences leading toward unity: athletic games

We have already noticed the tendencies which kept the Greek states apart and prevented their union as a single nation (§§ 242–243). There were now, on the other hand, influences which tended toward unity. Among such influences were the Greek contests in arms and their athletic games. They finally came to be held at stated seasons in honor of the gods.

As early as 776 B.C. such contests were celebrated as public festivals at Olympia.[1] Repeated every four years, they finally aroused the interest and participation of all Greece.

263. Greek unity favored by religious councils (amphictyonies)

Religion also became a strong influence toward unity, because there were some gods at whose temples *all* the Greeks worshiped. The different city-states therefore formed several religious councils, made up of representatives from the various Greek cities concerned. They came together at stated periods, and in this way each city had a voice in such joint management of the temples. These councils were perhaps the nearest approach to representative government ever devised in the ancient world. The most notable of them were the council for the control of the Olympic games, another for the famous sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi (Fig. 74), and also the council for the great annual feast of Apollo in the island of Delos.

264. Greek unity furthered by language

These representatives spoke various Greek dialects at their meetings. They could understand each other, however, and their common language helped to bind together the people of the many different Greek cities. A sentiment of unity also arose under the influence of the Homeric songs (§ 234) with which every Greek was familiar — a common inheritance depicting all the Greeks united against the Asiatic city of Troy (Fig. 63).

265. Barbarians and Hellenes

Thus bound together by ties of custom, religion, language, and common traditions, the Greeks gained a feeling of race unity, which set them apart from other races. They called all men not of Greek blood "barbarians," but this was not originally a term of reproach for the non-Greeks. Then the Greek sense of unity found expression in the first all-inclusive term for *themselves*. They gradually came to call themselves "Hellenes," and found pleasure in the belief that they had all descended from a common ancestor called Hellen. Connected with this word is also the name "Hellas," often applied to

[1] Every schoolboy knows that these Olympic games have been revived in modern times as an international project.

From a painting by C. Scott White

THE GREEK THEATER AT TAORMINA, WITH ITS ROMAN ADDITIONS

The Greek colony of Tauromenium (modern Taormina) was on the east coast of Sicily. We here look down from the seats of the theater, across the stage below, where a gap in the Roman colonnade behind the stage reveals a long vista of the beautiful Sicilian shore; while in the distance towers the majestic volcano of Etna (nearly 11,000 feet high), often displaying a wisp of smoke above its crown of snow

Greece. But it should be clearly understood that this new designation did not represent a Greek *nation* or state, but only the *group* of Greek-speaking peoples or states, often at war with one another.

266. Greek unity and trade

The lack of political unity evident in such wars was also very noticeable in trade relations. No merchant of one city had any legal rights in another city where he was not a citizen, for no city made any laws protecting the stranger. He could secure protection only by appealing to the old desert custom of "hospitality," after he had been received by a friendly citizen as a guest. For the reception of any stranger who might have no such friend to be his host, a city might appoint a citizen to act as its official host. These primitive arrangements reveal the strong *local* prejudice of each Greek city. The most fatal defect in Greek character was the inability of the various states to forget their local differences and jealousies and to unite in a common federation or great nation including all Greeks.[1]

267. Architecture and sculpture

In spite of oriental luxuries, like gaudy clothing and rich tableware (§ 226), Greek life in the Age of the Nobles was still rude and simple. The Greek cities of which we have been talking were groups of dingy sun-dried-brick houses, with narrow wandering streets which we should call alleys. On the height where the palace or castle of the king had once stood was an oblong building of brick, like the houses of the town below. In front it had a porch with a row of wooden posts, and it was covered by a "peaked" roof with a triangular gable at each end. This rude building was the earliest Greek temple. As for sculpture in this age, the figure of a god consisted merely of a wooden post with a rough-hewn head at the top. When draped with a garment it could be made to serve its purpose.

[1] We may recall here how slow were the thirteen colonies of America to suppress local pride sufficiently to adopt a constitution uniting all thirteen into a nation. It was local differences similar to those among the Greeks which afterward caused our Civil War.

268. Rise of *written* literature; moral progress; patriotism

While there were still very few who could read, there was here and there a man who owned and read a written copy of Homer. Men told their children quaint fables, representing the animals acting like human creatures, and by means of these tales with a *moral* made it clear what a man ought or ought not to do. The Greeks were beginning to think about human conduct. The old Greek word for virtue no longer meant merely valor in war, but also kindly and unselfish conduct toward others. Duty towards a man's own country was now beginning to be felt in the sentiment we call patriotism. Right conduct, as it seemed to some, was even required by the gods.

269. Transference of literary interest to the *present*

Under these circumstances it was natural that a new literature should arise, as the Greeks began to discuss *themselves* and *their own* conduct. The old Homeric singers never referred to themselves; they never spoke of their *own* lives. They were absorbed in describing the valiant deeds of their heroes who had died long before. Meanwhile the problems of their own *present* began to press hard upon the minds of men; the peasant farmer's distressing struggle for existence (see § 249) made men conscious of very present needs. Their *own* lives became a great and living theme.

270. Hesiod and the earliest cry for social justice in Europe (750–700 B.C.)

The voices that once chanted the hero songs therefore died away, and now men heard the first voice raised in Europe on behalf of the poor and the humble. Hesiod, an obscure farmer, sang of the dreary and hopeless life of the peasant — of his *own* life as he struggled on under a burden too heavy for his shoulders. We even hear how his brother Persis seized the lands left by their father, and then bribed the judges to confirm him in their possession.

271. Discontent of the poor, and democratic institutions

This was the earliest European protest against the injustices committed by the rich in wealthy town life. It was raised at the very moment when across the corner of the Mediterranean the once nomad Hebrews were passing through the same experience (see §§ 175–176). The voice of Hesiod raising the cry for social justice in Greece sounds like an echo from

Palestine. But we should notice that in Palestine the cry for social justice finally resulted not in altered government but in a *religion* of brotherly kindness; whereas in Greece it resulted in altered government, in democratic *institutions*, — the rule of the people who refused longer to submit to the oppressions of the few and powerful. In the next chapter we shall watch the progress of the struggle by which the rule of the people came about.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 27. What geographical influences tended to prevent a union of all the Greeks? What leading unions did take place? Describe their situation. What is democracy? Discuss the power of the Greek nobles. What was the situation of the peasants financially? politically? What happened to the Greek kings?

SECTION 28. Discuss the rise of Greek sea trade. Trace the spread of Greek colonies. What can you say of this movement as a racial matter? What racial contest arose?

SECTION 29. Mention influences leading toward Greek unity. What names arose for Greeks and non-Greeks? Discuss lack of trade arrangements between states; architecture and sculpture; literature, especially Hesiod. What resulted from the discontent of the poor?

NOTE. The buildings below are two Greek temples still standing at Pæstum (Greek, *Poseidonia*), one of the early Greek colonies in Italy in the vicinity of Naples. The temple of Neptune (Poseidon), the finest of the group, is the best preserved Greek temple outside of Attica. It was built in the Age of the Tyrants, not long before 500 B.C., and is one of the noblest examples of archaic Greek architecture (§ 301).

CHAPTER VIII

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND THE AGE OF THE TYRANTS

Section 30. The Industrial and Commercial Revolution

272. Growth of Greek commerce and industry

The remarkable spread of the Greek colonies, together with the growth of industries in the home cities, led to profound changes. The new colonies not only had needs of their own but they also had dealings with the inland, which finally opened up extensive regions of Europe as a market for Greek wares. The home cities at once began to meet this demand for goods of all sorts. The Ionian cities at first led the way as formerly. Then the islands also, and finally the Greek mainland, especially Corinth (Fig. 69) and Athens, began to share in the

Note. The above headpiece gives us a glimpse into the house of a bride the day after the wedding. At the right, leaning against a couch, is the bride. Before her are two young friends, one sitting, the other standing, both playing with a tame bird. Another friend approaches carrying a tall and beautiful painted vase as a wedding gift. At the left a visitor arranges flowers in two painted vases, while another lady, adjusting her garment, is looking on. The walls are hung with festive wreaths. The furniture of such a house was usually of wood, but if the owner's wealth permitted, it was adorned with ivory, silver, and gold. It consisted chiefly of beds, like the couch above, chairs, footstools (as at the foot of the couch above), small individual tables, and clothing chests which took the place of closets.

growing Greek trade. Ere long the commercial fleets of Hellas were threading their way along all the coasts of the northern, western, and southeastern Mediterranean, bearing to distant communities Greek metal work, woven goods, and pottery.

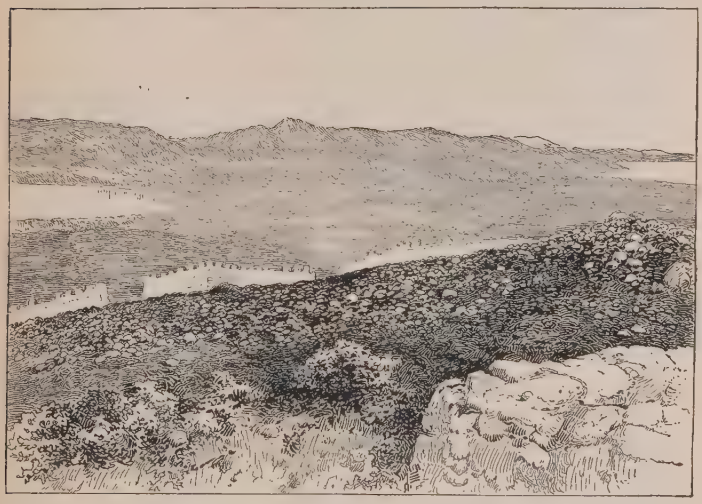


FIG. 69. THE ISTHMUS OF CORINTH, THE LINK BETWEEN THE PELOPONNESUS AND NORTHERN GREECE

The observer stands on the hills south of ancient Corinth (out of range on the left) and looks northeastward along the isthmus, on both sides of which the sea is visible. On the left (west) we see the tip of the Gulf of Corinth (see map, p. 124), and on the right (east) the Saronic Gulf. The commerce across this isthmus from the Orient to the West made the Gulf of Corinth an important center of traffic westward, and Corinth early became a flourishing commercial city. Through this sole gateway of the Peloponnesus (see map, p. 124) passed back and forth for centuries the leading men of Greece, and especially the armies of Sparta, some sixty miles distant (behind the observer). The faint white line in the middle of the isthmus is the modern canal — a cut from sea to sea, about four miles long and nearly two hundred feet deep at the crest of the watershed

They brought back either raw materials and foodstuffs, such as grain, fish, and amber, or finished products like the magnificent

273. International market on the island of Delos

utensils in bronze from the cities of the Etruscans in northern Italy (§ 500 and Fig. 98). At the yearly feast and market on the island of Delos the Greek householder found the Etruscan bronzes of the West side by side with the gay carpets of the Orient.

274. Greeks introduce industrial slave labor

To meet the increasing demands of trade the Greek craftsman was obliged to enlarge his small shop, once perhaps only large enough to supply the wants of a single estate. Unable to find the necessary workmen, the proprietor who had the means bought slaves and trained them to the work. He thus enlarged his little stall into a factory with a score of hands. Henceforth industrial *slave labor* became an important part of Greek life.

275. Expansion of Athenian commerce

When Athens entered the field of industry, she won victories not less decisive than her later triumphs in art, literature, philosophy, or war. Her factories must have grown to a size before quite unknown in the Greek world, until they filled a large quarter at Athens (see Plan, p. 188). Their output is found in distant regions even to-day. For the ancient peoples bought the beautiful Athenian vases to put in the tombs of their dead. There they are still found. It is very impressive to see the modern excavator opening tombs far toward the interior of Asia Minor and taking out vases bearing the signature of the same Athenian vase-painter whose name you may also read on vases dug out of the Nile Delta in northern Africa or taken from tombs in cemeteries of the Etruscan cities of Italy (Fig. 70). Thus we suddenly gain a picture of the Athenian craftsman and merchant in touch with a vast commercial domain extending far across the ancient world.

276. Improvement and enlargement of ships

Soon the Greek shipbuilder, responding to the growing commerce, began to build craft far larger than the old "fifty-oar" galleys. The new "merchantmen" were driven by sails, an Egyptian invention of ages before (Fig. 13). They were so large that they could no longer easily be drawn up on the strand as before. Hence sheltered harbors were necessary.

The protection of these merchant ships demanded more effective warships, and the distinction arose between a "man-o'-war," or battleship, and a "merchantman." Corinth (Fig. 69) boasted the production of the first decked warships, a great improvement, giving the warriors above more room and better footing, and protecting the oarsmen below. For warships must be independent of the wind, and hence they were still propelled by oars. The oarsmen were now arranged in three rows, and thus the power of an old "fifty-oar" could be multiplied by three without essentially increasing the size of the craft. Such battleships, having the oars in three rows, were called "triremes." These innovations were all in common use by 500 B.C. With their superior equipment on the sea and the marked improvement of their industries, the Hellenes were soon beating the Phœnicians in the Mediterranean markets.

277. Decked warships; triremes

FIG. 70. AN ATHENIAN PAINTED VASE OF THE EARLY SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

This magnificent work (over thirty inches high) was found in an Etruscan tomb in Italy (see map, p. 256), whither it had been exported (§ 275) by the Athenian makers in the days of Solon. It is signed by the potter Ergotimos, who gave the vase its lovely shape, and also by the painter Clitias, whose skillful hand executed the beautiful painted scenes extending in bands entirely around the vase. In these decorations the Greek painter had finally emancipated himself from the oriental influences, so marked before this time. He now ventured to paint scenes from *Greek* stories of the gods and heroes. On the wide distribution of the works of these two artists see § 275

278. Precious metals and coinage in the Orient (700 B.C.)

Meantime Greek business life had entered upon a new epoch, due to the introduction of coined money. Not long after 700 B.C. the kings of Lydia in Asia Minor, following oriental custom (§ 111), began to cut up silver into lumps of a fixed weight. These they stamped with some symbol of the king or State to

FIG. 71. SPECIMENS ILLUSTRATING THE BEGINNING OF COINAGE

1, both sides of a Lydian coin (§ 278, about 550 B.C.); *2*, both sides of a coin of the Greek island of Chios (500 B.C.), showing how the Greeks followed the Lydian model (*1*); *3*, both sides of a Carian coin of Cnidus (650–550 B.C.), an example of the square stamp; *4*, both sides of a four-drachma piece of Athens (§ 279, sixth century B.C.), bearing head of goddess Athena and an owl with olive branch (square stamp). The inscription contains the first three letters of "Athens." These coins are all rough lumps of silver (such as were long before used in the Orient, § 111), flattened by the pressure of the stamp. Two of the examples (*1* and *2*, the two backs) show the square marks of the bench tool which held the lump while the stamp (at left) was struck upon it. This defect was slowly overcome, and the coins became round as the stamp itself was made round instead of square

show that the State guaranteed their value, and such pieces formed the earliest known coins (Fig. 71).

279. Adoption of coinage by the Greeks (early seventh century B.C.)

This great convenience quickly passed over to the Greeks. The Athenians then began to use as their commonest coin a lump of silver weighing the hundredth part of a Babylonian *mina* (our pound, § 103). It was worth from eighteen to twenty cents.

It still survives in large sections of Europe as the French *franc*, Italian *lira*, and Austrian *krone*, all worth somewhat less than twenty cents (cf. Fig. 102). The Athenians called this coin a *drachma*. Our American dollar is simply five of these drachmas, and the Athenians themselves issued a four-drachma piece (Fig. 71, *4*) which served as their dollar. The purchasing power of a drachma was in such ancient times very much greater than in our day. For example, a sheep cost one drachma, an ox five drachmas, and a landowner with an income of five hundred drachmas ($100) a year was considered a wealthy man.

280. Rise of a capitalistic class

Greek wealth had formerly consisted of lands and flocks, but now men began to accumulate capital in *money*. Loans were made, and the use of interest came in from the Orient. The usual rate was 18 per cent yearly. Men who could never have hoped for wealth as farmers were now growing rich. For the growing industries and the commercial ventures on the seas rapidly created fortunes among a class of men formerly poor. There arose thus a prosperous industrial and commercial *middle class*. They demanded a voice in the government. They soon became a strong political power, and the noble class were obliged to listen to them. At the beginning of the sixth century B.C. even a noble like Solon could say, "Money makes the man."

Section 31. Rise of the Democracy and the Age of the Tyrants

281. Decline of the peasantry

While a prosperous "capitalistic" class was thus arising, the condition of the peasant on his lands grew steadily worse. His fields were dotted with stones, each the sign of a mortgage, which the Greeks were accustomed to record in this way. The wealthy creditors were foreclosing these mortgages and taking the lands, and the unhappy owners were being sold into foreign slavery or were fleeing abroad to escape such bonds. The nobles in control did all in their power as a class to take advantage of the helplessness of the peasants and small farmers (see § 249).

282. Power of the people increased

But new enemies now opposed the noble class. In the first place, the new men of fortune (§ 280) were bitterly hostile to the nobles; in the second place, the improvement in Greek industries had so cheapened all work in metal that it was possible for the ordinary man to purchase weapons and a suit of armor. This added to the importance of the ordinary citizen in the army and therefore greatly increased the power of the lower classes in the State.

283. Disunion among nobles and rise of tyrants

At the same time the nobles were far from united. Serious feuds between the various noble families often divided them into hostile factions. The leader of such a faction among the nobles often placed himself at the head of the dissatisfied people in real or feigned sympathy with their cause. Both the peasants and the new commercial class of citizens often rallied around such a noble leader. Thus supported, he was able to overcome and expel his rivals among the noble class and to gain undisputed control of the State. In this way he became the ruler of the State.

284. The "tyrant" and public opinion of his office

Such a ruler was in reality a king; but the new king differed from the kings of old in that he had no royal ancestors and had seized the control of the State by violence. The people did not reverence him as of ancient royal lineage, and while they may have felt gratitude to him, they felt no loyalty. His position always remained insecure. The Greeks called such a man a "tyrant," which was not at that time a term of reproach as it is with us. The word "tyranny" was merely a term for the high office held by such a ruler. Nevertheless the instinctive feeling of the Greeks was that they were no longer free under such a prince, and the slayer of a tyrant was regarded as a hero and savior of the people. In spite of public opinion about the tyrants, they were the first champions of democracy. Many of them looked after the rights of the people and gave much attention to public monuments, art, music, and literature. By 650 B.C. such rulers had begun to appear, but it was especially the sixth century (from 600 to 500 B.C.) which we may call the Age of the Tyrants.

Hitherto all law, so long ago reduced to writing in the Orient (Fig. 42), had been a matter of oral tradition in Greece. It was very easy for a judge to twist oral law to favor the

285. Earliest written Greek codes of law

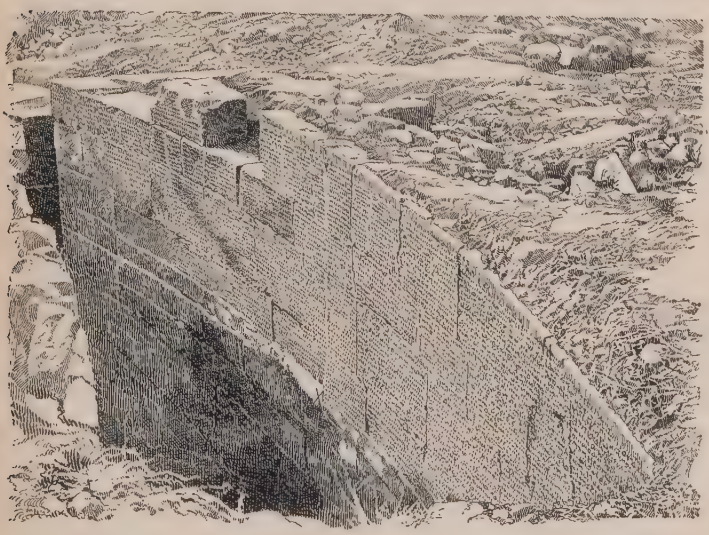


FIG. 72. RUINS OF THE ANCIENT COURTHOUSE OF GORTYNA AND THE EARLY GREEK CODE OF LAWS ENGRAVED ON ITS WALLS

This hall at Gortyna in Crete, dating from the sixth century B.C., was a circular building about one hundred and forty feet across, which served as a courthouse. If any citizen thought himself unjustly treated, he could appeal to the great code of laws engraved in twelve columns on the inside of the stone wall of the building. It covers the curved surface of the wall for about thirty feet, but extends only as high as would permit it to be read easily. It forms the longest Greek inscription now surviving. This code shows a growing sense of justice toward a debtor and forbids a creditor to seize a debtor's tools or furniture for debt; this illustrates the tendency among the Greeks in the age of Solon (§§ 285, 288)

man who gave him the largest present (§ 270). The people were now demanding that the inherited oral laws be put into writing (Fig. 72). After a long struggle the Athenians

secured such a written code, arranged by a man named Draco, about 624 B.C. It was an exceedingly severe code — so severe, in fact, that the adjective "Draconic" has passed into our language as a synonym for "harsh."

286. Foreign complications of Athens

Meantime the situation in Athens was much complicated by hostilities with neighboring powers. The merchants of Megara had seized the island of Salamis, overlooking the port of Athens (Fig. 78). The loss of Salamis and the failure of the nobles to recover it aroused intense indignation among the Athenians. Then a man of the old family to which the ancient kings of Athens had belonged, a noble named Solon, who had gained wealth by many a commercial venture on the seas, roused his countrymen by fiery verses, calling upon the Athenians not to endure the shame of such a loss. Salamis was recovered, and Solon gained great popularity with all classes of Athenians.

287. Solon elected archon; his financial reforms

The result was Solon's election as archon (§ 252) in 594 B.C. He was given full power to improve the evil condition of the peasants. He declared void all mortgages on land and all claims of creditors which endangered the liberty of a citizen. But Solon was a true statesman, and to the demands of the lower classes for a new apportionment of lands held by the nobles he would not yield. He did, however, set a limit to the amount of land which a noble might hold.

288. Solon's new code of laws

Solon also made a law that anyone who, like Hesiod (§ 270), had lost a lawsuit could appeal the case to a jury of citizens over thirty years of age selected by lot. This change and some others greatly improved a citizen's chance of securing justice. Solon's laws were all written, and they formed the first Greek code of laws by which all free men were given equal rights in the courts. Some of these laws have descended to our own time and are still in force.

289. Solon's new constitution

Furthermore, Solon proclaimed a new constitution which gave to all a voice in the control of the State. It made but few changes. It recognized four classes of citizens, graded according to the amount of their income. The wealthy nobles

were the only ones who could hold the highest offices, and the peasants were permitted to hold only the lower offices. The government thus remained in the hands of the nobles, but the humblest free citizen could now be assured of the right to vote in the assembly of the people.

290. Estimate of Solon

Solon was the earliest great Greek statesman about whom we have reliable information. The leading trait of his character was moderation, combined with unfailing decision. When all expected that he would make himself "tyrant" he laid down his expiring archonship without a moment's hesitation and left Athens for several years, to give his constitution a fair chance to work.

291. Failure of Solon's work to prevent the rise of a tyrant in Attica

Solon saved Attica from civil war, and it was largely due to his wise reforms that Athens gained her industrial and commercial triumphs. But his constitution gave the prosperous commercial class no right to hold the leading offices of government. They continued the struggle for power. Hence Solon's work, though it deferred the humiliation, could not save the Athenian State from subjection to a tyrant.

292. Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens (540–528 B.C.)

Pisistratus, a member of one of the powerful noble families, finally gained control of the Athenian State as tyrant. He ruled with great sagacity and success, and many of the Athenians gave him sincere support. Athenian manufactures and commerce flourished as never before, and when Pisistratus died (in the same year as Cyrus the Persian, 528 B.C.) he had laid a foundation to which much of the later greatness of Athens was due.

293. Fall of the sons of Pisistratus

In spite of their great ability, the sons of Pisistratus, Hipparchus and Hippias, were unable to overcome the prejudice of the Athenians against a ruler on whom the people had not conferred authority. One of the earliest exhibitions of Greek patriotism is the outburst of enthusiasm at Athens when two youths, Harmodius and Aristogiton (Fig. 73), at the sacrifice of their own lives, struck down one of the tyrants (Hipparchus). Hippias, the other one, was eventually obliged to flee. Thus, shortly before 500 B.C., Athens was freed from her tyrants.

294. The reforms of Clisthenes reduce the power of the nobles

The people were now able to gain new power against the nobles by the efforts of Clisthenes, a noble friendly to the lower classes. He broke up the old tribal divisions on the basis of blood relationship, and established purely *local* lines of division. He thus cut up the old noble clans and assigned the fragments to different local divisions, where the nobles would be in the minority. This prevented them from acting together and broke their power.

295. Ostracism

In order to avoid the rise of a new tyrant, Clisthenes established a law that once a year the people might by vote declare any prominent citizen dangerous to the State and banish him for ten years. To cast his vote against a man, a citizen had only to pick up one of the pieces of broken pottery lying about the market place, write upon it the name of the citizen to be banished, and deposit it in the voting urn. Such a bit of pottery was called an "ostracon" (tailpiece, p. 165), and to "ostracize" a man (literally to "potsherd" him) meant to banish him. By these and other means Athens had (about 500 B.C.) gained a form of government giving the people a high degree of power. The State was in large measure a democracy.

296. Expansion of Sparta; foundation of the Spartan "league"

Meantime Sparta also had greatly increased in power. The Spartans had pushed their military successes until they held over a third of the Peloponnesian peninsula. The result was that long before 500 B.C. the Spartans had forced the neighboring states into a combination, called the "Spartan league," which included nearly the whole of the Peloponnese. As the leader of this league, Sparta was the most powerful state in Greece. It had no industries, and it therefore did not possess the prosperous commercial class which had elsewhere done so much to overthrow the nobles and bring about the rise of the tyrants. For this and other reasons it had escaped the rule of a tyrant. Sparta was opposed to the rule of the people, and although it had divided the power of its kings (§ 252), it looked with a jealous eye on the rising democracy of Athens.

Section 32. Civilization in the Age of the Tyrants

297. The nobles the social leaders; athletic games

In spite of the growing power of the people the nobles continued to be the leaders, especially in all those matters which we call social. They created the social life of the time, and they were the prominent figures on all public occasions. The multitudes which thronged to the public games looked down upon the best-born youths of Greece contesting for the prizes in the athletic matches (§ 262), and the wealthier nobles put the swiftest horses into the chariot races. Not seldom the greatest poets of the time, especially Pindar (§ 299), celebrated the victors in triumphant verses.

298. Education and music

Although noble youths might be found spending the larger part of the day practicing in the public inclosure devoted to athletic exercises, yet they usually also learned to write. The education of the time was not complete without some instruction also in music. It was in the Age of the Tyrants that the music of Greece rose to the level of a real art. A system of writing musical notes, meaning for music what the alphabet meant for literature, now arose (Fig. 82, *B*). The flute and the lyre were the favorite instruments, either of which might be played as the accompaniment of song, or both together, with choruses of boys and girls.

299. Lyric poetry; Pindar and Sappho

Music had a great influence on the literature of the age, for the poets now began to write verses to be sung with the music of the lyre. Hence such verses are called "lyric" poetry. The poets now put into songs their momentary moods, longings, dreams, hopes, and fiery storms of passion. Each in his way found a wondrous world within *himself*, which he thus pictured in short songs. Probably the greatest of these poets was Pindar of Thebes (see *Ancient Times*, § 482). Another great lyric singer of the age was the poetess Sappho, the earliest woman to gain undying fame in literature. Indeed, she was perhaps the greatest poetess the world has ever seen.

300. Festival choruses become drama

Another favorite form of song was the "chorus," with which the country folk loved to celebrate their rustic feasts. The poet Stesichorus, who lived in Sicily, began to write choruses which told the stories of the gods as they were found in the old myths. The singers as they marched in rustic procession wore goatskins, and their faces were concealed by masks. Some of the songs were sung responsively by the chorus and their leader. For the diversion of the listening peasants the leader would illustrate with gestures the story told in the song. He thus became to some extent an actor, the forerunner of the actors on our own stage. When a second leader was introduced, dialogue between the two was possible, though the chorus continued to recite most of the narrative. Thus arose a form of musical play or drama, the action and narrative of which were carried on by the chorus and two actors. The Greeks called such a play a tragedy, which means "goat's play," perhaps because of the rustic disguise as goats which the chorus had always worn. These out-of-door feasts furnished the beginnings of the Greek theater (see Fig. 86).

301. Architecture

The tyrants were so devoted to building that architecture made very important advances. The older rough Greek temples of sun-dried brick (§ 267) were rebuilt in limestone by the tyrants. Indeed, the front of the temple of Apollo at Delphi (Fig. 74) was even built of marble. At no other time before or since were so many temples erected as in the Greek world in the Age of the Tyrants. In Sicily and southern Italy a number of the noble temples of this age still stand, to display to us the beauty and simplicity of Greek architecture when it was still at an undeveloped stage (tailpiece, p. 147). Instead of the *wooden* posts of the Age of the Nobles (§ 267), these temples were surrounded by lines of *stone* columns (colonnades) in a style called *Doric* (see Fig. 82, *A* and *B*). The idea of these columns was derived from Egypt (see *Ancient Times*, Fig. 167). Like those on the Nile, these Greek temples were also painted in bright colors.

Sculpture also made great progress. Moved by patriotic impulses the Athenian sculptors now wrought a wonderful monument for the market place of Athens. It was a memorial group of two bronze statues (Fig. 73), representing the two heroic youths who endeavored to free Athens from the sons of Pisistratus (§ 293). The work showed remarkable progress

302. Sculpture and painting

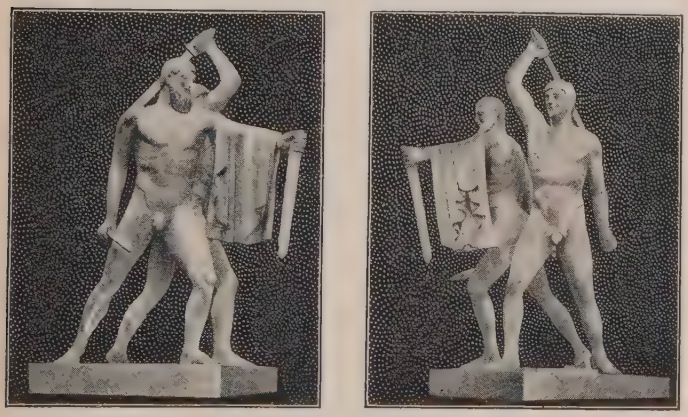


FIG. 73. MONUMENT OF THE TYRANT SLAYERS OF ATHENS, HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGITON

On the slopes of the Areopagus (see Plan, p. 188, and Fig. 81) overlooking the market place, the Athenians set up this group, depicting at the moment of attack the two heroic youths who lost their lives in an attempt to slay the two sons of Pisistratus and to free Athens from the two tyrants (514 B.C., § 293). Our illustration is an ancient copy in marble, the lost original having been made of bronze

in ability to represent the human body in free and vigorous action. Similar progress was made by the painters of the age. Their painted vases are a wonderful treasury of beautiful scenes from Greek life (headpiece, p. 148).

Literature and painting show us that the Greeks of this age were intensely interested in the life of their own time. In the first place, they were thinking more deeply than ever before about conduct, and they were better able to distinguish between

303. Growing sense of right and wrong; punishment hereafter

right and wrong. Stesichorus (§ 300) had so high an idea of womanly fidelity that he could not accept the tale of the beautiful Helen's faithlessness related in Homer, and in his festival songs Stesichorus told the ancient story in another way. Men now felt that even Zeus and his Olympian divinities must do the right. Mortals too must do the same, for men had now come to believe that in the world of the dead there was punishment for the evildoer.

304. Blessedness hereafter; "mysteries" of Eleusis

Likewise it was believed that there must be a place of blessedness for the good in the next world. Accordingly, in the temple at Eleusis scenes from the mysterious earth life of Demeter and Dionysus, to whom men owed the fruits of the earth, were presented by the priests in dramatic form before the initiated. Anyone who viewed these "mysteries," as they were called, received immortal life and might be admitted into the Islands of the Blessed, where once none but the ancient heroes could be received.

305. Thales and the prediction of a solar eclipse (585 B.C.)

On the other hand, some thoughtful men were rejecting many old beliefs, especially regarding the world and its control by the gods. At Miletus, the leader of the Ionian cities, there was an able statesman named Thales, who had traveled widely, and received from Babylonia a list of observations of the heavenly bodies. With these lists in his hands Thales could calculate when the next eclipse would occur. He therefore told the people of Miletus that they might expect an eclipse of the sun before the end of a certain year. When the promised eclipse (585 B.C.) actually occurred as he had predicted, the fame of Thales spread far and wide.

306. Natural law versus the gods; rise of science and philosophy among the Ionians

The prediction of an eclipse, a feat already accomplished by the Babylonians (§ 138), was not so important as the *consequences* which followed in the mind of Thales. Hitherto men had believed that eclipses and all the other strange things that happened in the skies were caused by the momentary angry whim of some god. Now, however, Thales boldly proclaimed that the movements of the heavenly bodies were in accordance

FIG. 74. THE BUILDINGS OF DELPHI RESTORED. (AFTER HOMOLLE-TOURNAIRE)

Beginning with the seventh century B.C. this place became a national sanctuary of the Greeks, where all Greece and many foreigners came to hear the oracles of the revered Apollo (§ 236). His temple, many times rebuilt, was a Doric structure, the largest colonnaded building which we see rising in the middle of the inclosure. A zigzag way passed up from the lower right-hand corner of this inclosure, and on each side of this way were ranged the treasuries containing the votive offerings of the Greeks to the great god — the statues and victorious trophies, many of them of gold and silver, presented by states, kings, and individuals. The value of these things proved fatal. They were finally plundered by the Romans (§ 684), but although the Roman emperor Nero (54–68 A.D.) removed five hundred statues, there were still three thousand left here when Pliny visited the place some years later. Part of a magnificent tripod taken away from here by the Romans to adorn Constantinople may be seen in Fig. 121

with *fixed laws*. The gods were thus banished from control of the sky-world, where Zeus had once ruled (§ 236). Other Ionian Greeks like Thales, especially Pythagoras, studied mathematics and the physics of musical tones. They wrote the first geographies, and one of them discovered that the earth is a sphere. They therefore became the forerunners of natural scientists and philosophers. They had entered what was for them a new world, — the world of science and philosophy, a world which the greatest minds of the early Orient had not discovered. This step, taken by Thales and the great men of the Ionian cities, remains and will forever remain the greatest achievement of the human intellect — an achievement to call forth the reverence and admiration of all time.

307. Summary and end of the Age of the Tyrants

The Age of the Tyrants was therefore one of the great epochs of the world's history, when the Greeks overtook and passed the Orient in civilization.[1] Under the stimulus of the keen struggle for leadership in business, in government, and in society, the minds of the ablest men of the time were wonderfully quickened. The inner power of this vigorous new Greek life showed itself in statesmanship, in architecture and building, in sculpture and painting, in literature and religion, in science and philosophy. As a group the leaders of this age, many of them tyrants, made an impression which never entirely disappeared, and they were called "the Seven Wise Men." They were the earliest statesmen and thinkers of Greece. The people loved to quote their sayings, such as "Know thyself," a proverb which was carved over the door of the Apollo temple at Delphi (Fig. 74); or Solon's wise maxim "Overdo nothing." After the overthrow of the sons of Pisistratus, however, the tyrants were disappearing, and although a tyrant here and there survived, especially in Asia Minor and Sicily, Greece thereupon passed out of the Age of the Tyrants (about 500 B.C.).

[1] A fuller account of the remarkable civilization of this age will be found in *Ancient Times*, §§ 479–496.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 30. How did the new colonies of the Greeks influence manufacturing at home? What can you tell of commerce and manufactures? Discuss the effect upon shipbuilding. How did coinage arise? How did coinage affect business and the accumulation of wealth? What new class arose?

SECTION 31. What was now happening to the Greek farmers in the matter of wealth? in the matter of military and political power? How did the Greeks feel toward a tyrant? What code of laws was made at Athens? What did Solon accomplish? What did Pisistratus and his sons accomplish? How did Clisthenes aid the people? What was ostracism? How did Sparta feel toward Athens?

SECTION 32. Describe the social position of the nobles. What can you say of education in this age? Who was the leading lyric poet? Who was the greatest poetess? How did festal choruses lead to drama? In what style of architecture were the temples now erected? What progress does the monument of the tyrant slayers show? What progress was made in ideas of conduct? What did Thales do? What conclusions did he make about the gods? What can you say of the Age of the Tyrants as a whole?

NOTE. The tailpiece below shows the name of Themistocles scratched on a fragment of a pottery jar (*ostracon*, § 295) by some citizen of the six thousand who desired and secured the ostracism of Themistocles in 472 B.C., or it may have served a similar purpose in an earlier but unsuccessful attempt to ostracize him.

CHAPTER IX

THE REPULSE OF PERSIA AND THE RISE OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

Section 33. The Coming of the Persians

308. The Persian advance to the Ægean (546 B.C.)

In order to understand the coming chapters in the story of Greece we must now notice that in the middle of the Age of the Tyrants, Cyrus the Persian marched westward to the Ægean (§ 155). The vast Persian Empire which he founded thus became a close neighbor of the Greeks directly on their east in Asia Minor. Some of the Greeks, moreover, suffered worse than this. In the midst of their remarkable progress in civilization (§§ 297–307), the Ionian Greek cities of Asia Minor suddenly lost their liberty and actually became subjects of Persia.

309. The coming conflict and the revolt of the Ionians

As we have already learned, the Persians represented a high civilization and an enlightened rule; but Persian supremacy in Greece would nevertheless have seriously checked the advance

Note. The above headpiece represents a scene sculptured in relief on a doorway in the palace of Xerxes at Persepolis (Fig. 50). It shows us Xerxes as he was accustomed to appear when enthroned before his nobles, with his attendants and fan-bearers. At Salamis he took his station on the heights of Ægaleos overlooking the bay (§ 323), and as he sat there viewing the battle below him, he must have been enthroned as we see him here.

of the Greeks in civilization. There seemed little prospect that the tiny Greek states, even if they united, could successfully resist the vast oriental empire, controlling as it did all the countries of the ancient East, which we have been studying. Nevertheless the Ionian cities revolted against their Persian lords.

310. First Persian invasion of Europe

During the struggle with Persia which followed this revolt, the Athenians sent twenty ships to aid their Ionian kindred. This act brought a Persian army of revenge, under Darius, into Europe. The long march of the Persians across the Hellespont and through Thrace cost them many men, and the fleet which accompanied the Persian advance was wrecked in trying to round the high promontory of Mount Athos (492 B.C.). This advance into Greece was therefore abandoned for a plan of invasion by water across the Ægean.

311. Second Persian invasion

In the early summer of 490 B.C. a considerable fleet of transports and warships bearing the Persian host put out from the island of Samos, sailed straight across the Ægean, and entered the straits between Eubœa and Attica (see map, p. 124, and Fig. 75). The Persians began by burning the little city of Eretria, which had also sent ships to aid the Ionians. They then landed on the shores of Attica, in the Bay of Marathon (see map, p. 188, and Fig. 75), intending to march on Athens, the greater offender. They were guided by the aged Hippias, son of Pisistratus, once tyrant of Athens, who accompanied them with high hopes of regaining control of his native city.

312. Consternation in Athens and Greece

All was excitement and confusion among the Greek states. The defeat of the revolting Ionian cities, and especially the Persian sack of Miletus, had made a deep impression throughout Greece. An Athenian dramatist had depicted in a play the plunder of the unhappy city and so incensed the Athenians that they passed weeping from the theater to prosecute and fine the author. Now this Persian foe who had crushed the Ionian cities was camping behind the hills only a few miles northeast of

Athens. After dispatching messengers in desperate haste to seek aid in Sparta, the Athenian citizens turned to contemplate the seemingly hopeless situation of their beloved city.

313. The armies; Greek leadership

Thinking to find the Athenians unprepared, Darius had not sent a large army. The Persian forces probably numbered no more than twenty thousand men, but at the utmost the Athenians could not put more than half this number into the field. Fortunately for them there was among their generals a skilled and experienced commander named Miltiades. He was a man of resolution and firmness, who, moreover, had lived on the Hellespont and was familiar with Persian methods of fighting. To his judgment the Athenian commander-in-chief, Callimachus, yielded at all points. As the citizen-soldiers of Attica flocked to the city at the call to arms, Militiades was able to induce the leaders not to await the assault of the Persians at Athens, but to march across the peninsula (see map, p. 188) and block the Persian advance among the hills overlooking the eastern coast and commanding the road to the city. This bold and resolute move roused courage and enthusiasm in the downcast ranks of the Greeks.

314. The Greek position

Nevertheless, when they issued between the hills and looked down upon the Persian host encamped upon the Plain of Marathon (Fig. 75), flanked by a fleet of hundreds of vessels, misgiving and despair chilled the hearts of the little Attic army. But Miltiades held the leaders firmly in hand, and the arrival of a thousand Greeks from Platæa revived the courage of the Athenians. The Greek position overlooked the main road to Athens, and the Persians could not advance without leaving their line of march exposed on one side to the Athenian attack.

315. The Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.)

Unable to lure the Greeks from their advantageous position after several days' waiting, the Persians at length attempted to march along the road to Athens, at the same time endeavoring to cover their exposed line of march with a sufficient force thrown out in battle array. Miltiades was familiar with the

Persian custom of massing troops in the center. He therefore massed his own troops on both wings, leaving his center weak. It was a battle between bow and spear. The Athenians undauntedly faced the storm of Persian arrows (see § 154

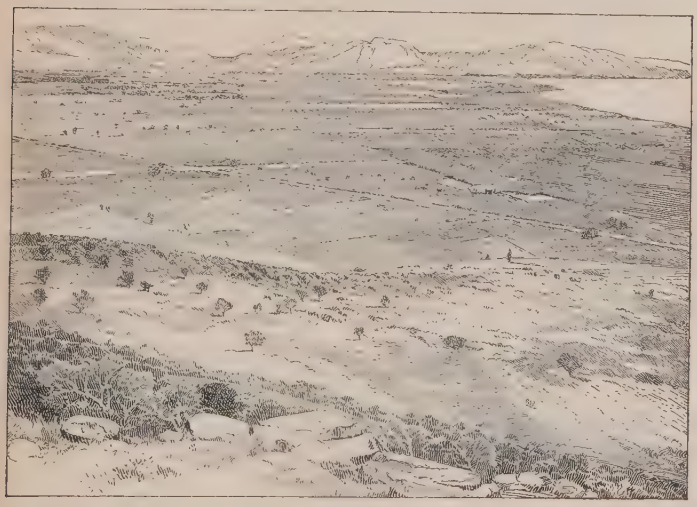


FIG. 75. THE PLAIN OF MARATHON

This view is taken from the hills at the south end of the plain, and we look northeastward across a corner of the Bay of Marathon to the mountains in the background, which are on the large island of Eubœa (see map, p. 188). The Persian camp was on the plain at the very shore line, where their ships were moored or drawn up. The Greeks held a position in the hills overlooking the plain (just out of range on the left) and commanding the road to Athens (§ 314), which is twenty-five miles distant behind us. When the Persians began to move along the shore road toward the right, the Greeks crossed the plain from the left and attacked (§ 315). The memorial mound (Fig. 76) is too far away to be visible from this point

and Fig. 49), and then both wings pushed boldly forward to the line of shields behind which the Persian archers were kneeling. In the meantime the Persian center, finding the Greek center weak, had pushed it back, while the two Greek wings

closed in on either side and thrust back the Persian wings in confusion. The Asiatic army crumbled into a broken multitude between the two advancing lines of the Greek wings. The Persian bow was useless, and the Greek spear everywhere spread death and terror. As the Persians fled to their ships they left

FIG. 76. MOUND RAISED AS A MONUMENT TO THE FALLEN GREEKS AT MARATHON

The mound is nearly fifty feet high. Excavations undertaken in 1890 disclosed beneath it the bodies of the one hundred and ninety-two Athenian citizens who fell in the battle (§ 315). Some of their weapons and the funeral vases buried with them were also recovered and are now in the National Museum at Athens

over six thousand dead upon the field, while the Athenians lost less than two hundred men (Fig. 76). When the Persian commander, unwilling to acknowledge defeat, sailed around the Attic peninsula and appeared with his fleet before the port of Athens, he found it unwise to attempt a landing, for the victorious Athenian army was already encamped beside the city.

Section 34. The Greek Repulse of Persians and Phœnicians

316. Rise of Themistocles

Among the men who stood in the Athenian ranks at Marathon was Themistocles, the ablest statesman in Greece, a man who had already occupied the office of archon, the head of the Athenian state. He was convinced of the necessity of building up a strong navy. As archon, Themistocles had therefore striven to show the Athenians that the only way in which Athens could hope to meet the assault of Persia was by making herself undisputed mistress of the sea. He had failed in his effort. But now the Athenians had seen the Persians cross the Ægean with their fleet and land at Marathon. It was evident that a powerful Athenian navy might have stopped them. The Athenians therefore began to listen to the counsels of Themistocles to make Athens the great sea power of the Mediterranean.

317. Xerxes inherits the Persian quarrel with the Greeks

Darius the Great, whose remarkable reign we have studied (§§ 160–165), died without having avenged the defeat of his army at Marathon. His son and successor, Xerxes, therefore took up the unfinished task. Xerxes planned a far-reaching assault on Greek civilization all along the line from Greece to Sicily. This he could do through his control of the Phœnician cities in Syria. The naval policy of his father Darius (§ 163) had given the Persians a huge Phœnician war fleet. In so far as the coming attack on Greece was by sea it was chiefly a *Semitic* assault. At the same time Xerxes induced Phœnician Carthage to attack the Greeks in Sicily. Thus the two wings of the great Semitic line, the Phœnicians of Syria in the East and the Phœnicians of Carthage in the West, were to attack the Indo-European line (Fig. 48), represented in both East and West by the Greeks.

Meantime the Greeks were making ready to meet the coming Persian assault. They soon saw that Xerxes' commanders were cutting a canal behind the promontory of Athos, to secure a

318. Themistocles induces the Athenians to build a fleet

short cut and thus to avoid all risk of such a wreck as had overtaken their former fleet in rounding this dangerous point. When the news of this operation reached Athens, Themistocles was able to induce the Athenian Assembly to build a great fleet of probably a hundred and eighty triremes (§ 277). The Greeks were then able for the first time to meet the Persian advance by both sea and land.

319. Third Persian invasion; Themistocles' plan of campaign

Themistocles' masterly plan of campaign corresponded exactly to the plan of the Persian advance. The Asiatics were coming in combined land and sea array, with army and fleet moving near together down the east coast of the Greek mainland. The design of Themistocles was to meet the Persian fleet *first*, with full force, and fight a decisive naval battle as soon as possible. If victorious, the Greek fleet commanding the Ægean would then be able to sail up the eastern coast of Greece and threaten the communications and supplies of the Persian army. There must be no attempt of the small Greek army to meet the vast land forces of the Persians, beyond delaying them as long as possible at the narrow northern passes, which could be defended with a few men. An effort to unite *all* the Greek states against the Persian invasion was not successful. Indeed, Themistocles was able to induce the Spartans to unite with Athens and to accept his plan only on condition that Sparta be given command of the allied Greek fleets.

320. Persians enter Greece

In the summer of 480 B.C. the Asiatic army was approaching the pass of Thermopylæ (Fig. 77), just opposite the westernmost point of the island of Eubœa (see map, p. 188). Their fleet moved with them. The Asiatic host must have numbered over two hundred thousand men, with probably as many more camp followers, while the enormous fleet contained presumably about a thousand vessels, of which perhaps two thirds were warships. Of these the Persians lost a hundred or two in a storm, leaving probably about five hundred warships available for action. The Spartan king Leonidas led some five thousand men to check the Persians at the pass of Thermopylæ, while

the Greek fleet of less than three hundred triremes was endeavoring to hold together and strike the Persian navy at Artemisium, on the northern coast of Eubœa. Thus the land and sea forces of both contestants were face to face.

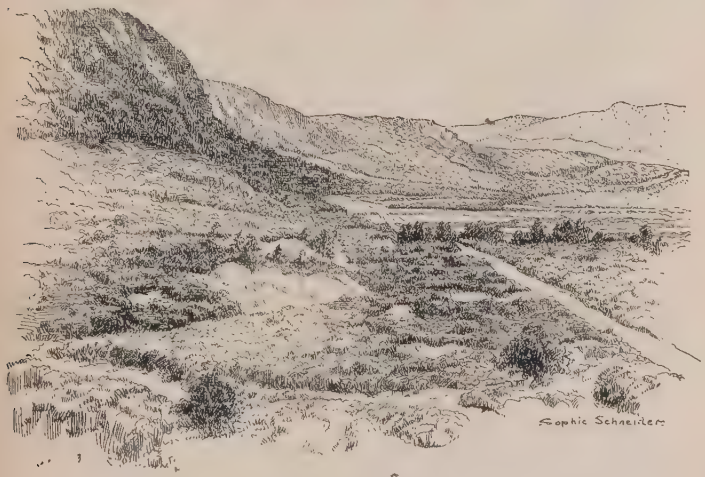


FIG. 77. THE PASS OF THERMOPYLÆ

In the time of the Persian invasion the mountains to the left dropped steeply to the sea, with barely room between for a narrow road. Since then the rains of twenty-four hundred years have washed down the mountainside, and it is no longer as steep as formerly, while the neighboring river has filled in the shore and pushed back the sea several miles. Otherwise we should see it here on the right. The Persians, coming from beyond the mountains toward our point of view, could not spread out in battle array, being hemmed in by the sea on one side and the cliff on the other. It was only when a traitorous Greek led a Persian force by night over the mountain on the left, and they appeared behind the Greeks in the pass, that Leonidas and his Spartans were crushed by the simultaneous attack in front and rear (§ 321)

321. The battles of Thermopylæ and Artemisium

After several days' delay the Persians advanced to attack on both land and sea. The Greek fleet made a skillful and creditable defense against superior numbers, and all day the dauntless Leonidas held the pass of Thermopylæ against the Persian

host. Meantime the Persians were executing two flank movements by land and by sea — one over the mountains to strike Leonidas in the rear, and the other with two hundred ships around the island of Eubœa to take the Greek fleet likewise from behind. A storm destroyed the flanking Persian ships, and a second combat between the two main fleets was indecisive. The flank movement by sea therefore failed; but the flanking of the pass was successful. Taken in front and rear, the heroic Leonidas died fighting at the head of his small force, which the Persian host completely annihilated. The death of Leonidas stirred all Greece. With the defeat of the Greek land forces and the advance of the Persian army, the Greek fleet, seriously damaged, was obliged to withdraw to the south. It took up its position in the Bay of Salamis (see map, p. 188, and Fig. 78), while the main army of the Spartans and their allies was drawn up on the Isthmus of Corinth (Fig. 69), the only point at which the Greek land forces could hope to make another defensive stand.

322. Persian advance into Attica and burning of Athens

As the Persian army moved southward from Thermopylæ, the undaunted Themistocles gathered together the Athenian population and carried them in transports to the little islands of Salamis and Ægina and across to the opposite shores of Argolis (see map, p. 188). Meantime the Greek fleet had been repaired and, with reinforcements, numbered over three hundred battleships. Nevertheless the courage of many Greeks at Salamis was shaken as they looked northward, where the far-stretching Persian host darkened the coast road, while in the south they could see the Asiatic fleet drawn up off the old port of Athens at Phalerum (see map, p. 188). High over the Attic hills the flames of the burning Acropolis showed red against the somber masses of smoke that obscured the eastern horizon and told them that the homes of the Athenians lay in ashes. With masterly skill Themistocles held together the irresolute Greek leaders, while he induced Xerxes to attack by means of a false message that the Greek fleet was about to slip out of the bay.

On the heights overlooking the Bay of Salamis the Persian king, seated on his throne, in the midst of his brilliant oriental court, took up his station to watch the battle. The Greek position between the jutting headlands of Salamis and the Attic

323. Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.)

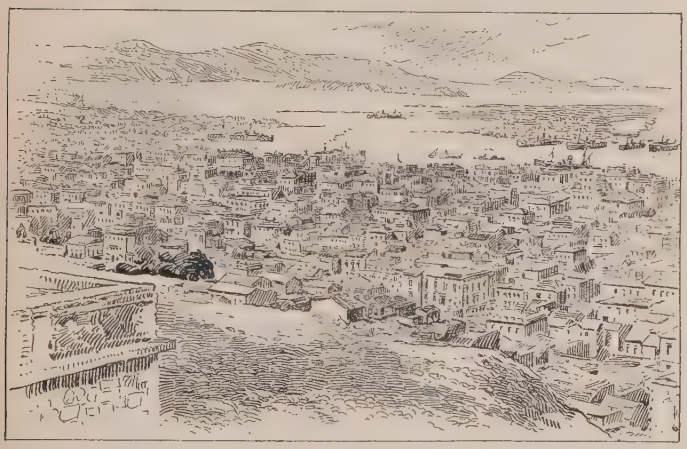


FIG. 78. PIRÆUS, THE PORT OF ATHENS, AND THE STRAIT AND ISLAND OF SALAMIS

The view shows the very modern houses and buildings of this flourishing harbor town of Athens (see map, p. 188). The mountains in the background are the heights of the island of Salamis, which extends also far over to the right (north), opposite Eleusis (see map, p. 188). The four steamers at the right are lying at the place where the hottest fighting in the great naval battle here (§ 323) took place. The Persian fleet advanced from the left (south) and could not spread out in a long front to enfold the Greek fleet because of the little island just beyond the four steamers, which was called Psyttaleia. The Greek fleet lying behind Psyttaleia and a long point of Salamis came into action from the right (north), around Psyttaleia. A body of Persian troops stationed by Xerxes on Psyttaleia were all slain by the Greeks

mainland (see map, p. 188, and Fig. 78) was too cramped for the maneuvers of a large fleet. Crowded by the narrow sea-room, the huge Asiatic fleet soon fell into confusion before the Greek attack. There was no room for retreat. The combat

lasted the entire day, and when darkness settled on the Bay of Salamis the Persian fleet had been almost annihilated. The Athenians were masters of the sea, and it was impossible for the army of Xerxes to operate with the same freedom as before. By the creation of its powerful fleet Athens had saved Greece, and Themistocles had shown himself the greatest of Greek statesmen.

324. Retreat of Xerxes in the East; defeat of Carthage in the West

Xerxes was now troubled lest he should be cut off from Asia by the victorious Greek fleet. Indeed, Themistocles made every effort to induce Sparta to join with Athens in doing this very thing; but the cautious Spartans could not be prevailed upon to undertake what seemed to them so dangerous an enterprise. Had Themistocles' plan of sending the Greek fleet immediately to the Hellespont been carried out, Greece would have been saved another year of anxious campaigning against the Persian army. With many losses from disease and insufficient supplies, Xerxes retreated to the Hellespont and withdrew into Asia, leaving his able general Mardonius with an army of perhaps fifty thousand men to winter in Thessaly. Meantime the news reached Greece that the army of Carthage (§ 317), which Xerxes had induced to cross from Africa to Sicily, had been completely defeated by the Greeks under the leadership of Syracuse. Thus the assault of the Asiatics upon the Hellenic world was beaten back in both East and West in the same year (480 B.C.).

325. Reaction against Themistocles

The brilliant statesmanship of Themistocles, so evident to us of to-day, was not so clear to the Athenians as the winter passed and they realized that the victory at Salamis had not relieved Greece of the presence of a Persian army. It was evident that Mardonius would invade Attica with the coming of spring. Themistocles, whose proposed naval expedition to the Hellespont would have forced the Persian army out of Greece, was removed from command by the factions of his ungrateful city. Nevertheless the most tempting offers from Mardonius could not induce the Athenians to forsake the cause of Greek liberty and join hands with Persia.

326. Persians again in Attica

As Mardonius at the end of the winter rains led his army again into Attica, the unhappy Athenians were obliged to flee as before, this time chiefly to Salamis. Sparta, always reluctant and slow when the crisis demanded quick and vigorous action, was finally induced to put her army into the field. When Mardonius in Attica saw the Spartan king Pausanias advancing through the Corinthian Isthmus and threatening his rear, he withdrew northward, having for the second time laid waste Attica far and wide. With the united armies of Sparta, Athens, and other allies behind him, Pausanias was able to lead some thirty thousand heavy-armed Greeks, as he followed Mardonius into Bœotia.

327. Battle of Platæa; final defeat of Persia (479 B.C.)

In several days of preliminary movements which brought the two armies into contact at Platæa, the clever Persian outmaneuvered Pausanias, even gaining possession of the southern passes behind the Greeks and capturing a train of supply wagons. But when Mardonius led his archers forward at double-quick, and the Persians kneeling behind their line of shields rained deadly volleys of arrows into the compact Greek lines, the Hellenes never flinched, although their comrades were falling on every hand. With the gaps closed up, the massive Greek lines pushed through the rows of Persian shields, and, as at Marathon, the spear proved victorious over the bow. In a heroic but hopeless effort to rally his broken lines, Mardonius himself fell. The Persian cavalry covered the rear of the flying Asiatic army and saved it from destruction.

328. Athenian fleet victorious in Ionia and the North

Not only European Greece, but Ionia too, was saved from Asiatic despotism. For the Greek triremes crossed over to Asia Minor and drove out or destroyed the remnants of the Persian fleet. The Athenians now also captured and occupied the Hellespont and thus held the crossing from Asia into Europe closed against further Persian invasion. Thus the grandsons of the Greeks who had seen Persia advance to the Ægean (§ 155) had blocked her further progress in the West and thrust her back from Europe. Indeed, no Persian army ever set foot in European Greece again.

Section 35. The Rivalry with Sparta and the Rise of the Athenian Empire

329. Growth of Athenian aspiration after Salamis and Platæa

As the Athenians returned to look out over the ashes of what was once Athens, amid which rose the smoke-blackened heights of the naked Acropolis (Fig. 81), they began to realize the greatness of their deliverance and the magnitude of their achievement. With the not too ready help of Sparta, they had met and crushed the ancient power of Asia. They felt themselves masters of the world. The past seemed narrow and limited. A new and greater Athens dawned upon their vision.

330. Conservative Sparta

This was all very different from the feeling of the stolid Spartans, whose whole State formed merely a military machine. Sparta was little more than a large military club or camp.[1] Living in a group of straggling villages unworthy to be called a city, greatly attached to their own old customs, still using only iron money and refusing to build a wall around their city, the old-fashioned Spartans looked with misgivings upon the larger world which was opening to Greek life. Although they desired to lead Greece in military power, they shrank from assuming the responsibilities of leadership. They represented the past and the privileges of the few (Fig. 79).

331. Rivalry of Athens and Sparta

Athens, on the other hand, represented the future and the rights of the many. Thus Greece fell into two camps as it were: Sparta, the home of tradition and privileges granted only to the military class; Athens, the champion of progress and the leadership of the people. And thus the sentiment of union born in the common struggle for liberty, which might have united the Hellenes into one Greek nation, was followed by an unquenchable rivalry between the two leading states of Hellas, which went on for another century and finally cost the Greeks the leadership of the ancient world.

[1] For a fuller account of the interesting life of the Spartan military class see *Ancient Times*, §§ 520–521.

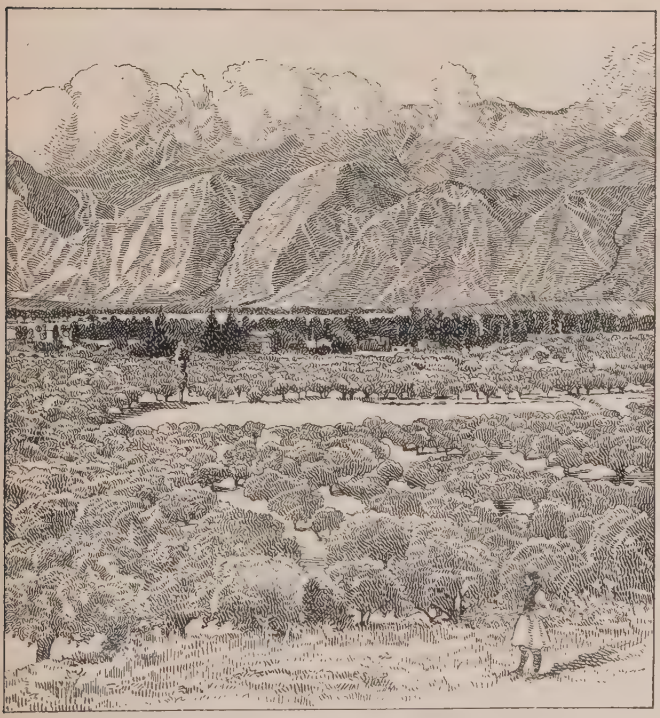


FIG. 79. THE PLAIN WHERE ONCE SPARTA STOOD

The olive groves now grow where the Spartans once had their houses. The town was not walled until long after the days of Spartan and Greek power were over. From the mountains (nearly eight thousand feet high) behind the plain the visitor can see northeastward far beyond Athens, almost to Eubœa; one hundred miles northward to the mountains on the north of the Corinthian Gulf (see map, p. 124); and one hundred and twenty-five miles southward to the island of Crete. This view shows also how Greece is cut up by such mountains

Themistocles was now the soul of Athens and her policy of progress and expansion. He determined that Athens should no longer follow Sparta. He cleverly hoodwinked the Spartans, and in spite of their objections completed the erection of

332. Themistocles, the fortification of Athens, and the Athenian fleet

strong walls around a new and larger Athens. At the same time he fortified the Piræus, the Athenian port (see map, p. 188, and Fig. 78). When the Spartans, after the repulse of Persia, relinquished the command of the combined Greek fleets, the powerful Athenian fleet, the creation of Themistocles, was master of the Ægean.

333. Aristides and the establishment of the Delian League (478–477 B.C.)

As the Greek cities of Asia still feared the vengeance of the Persian king, it was easy for the Athenians to form a permanent defensive league with the cities of their Greek kindred in Asia and the Ægean islands. The wealthier of these cities contributed ships, while others paid a sum of money each year into the treasury of the league. Athens was to have command of the combined fleet and collect the money. She placed in charge of the important task of adjusting all contributions of the league and collecting the tribute money a patriotic citizen named Aristides, who had distinguished himself at Salamis and Platæa. His friends called him "the Just" because of his honesty. Although he had formerly opposed Themistocles' naval plans, he now did important service in vigorously aiding to establish the new naval league. The funds he collected were placed for protection in the temple of Apollo, on the little island of Delos. Hence the federation was known as the Delian League. It was completed within three years after Salamis. The transformation of such a league into an empire (§ 73), made up of states subject to Athens, could be foreseen as a very easy step. All this was therefore viewed with increasing jealousy and distrust by Sparta.

334. Rise of Cimon

Under the leadership of Cimon, the son of Miltiades the hero of Marathon, the fleet of the League now drove the Persians out of the region of the Hellespont entirely. Cimon did not understand the importance of Athenian leadership in Greece, but favored a policy of friendship and alliance with Sparta. Hence political conflict arose at Athens over this question. Noble and wealthy and old-fashioned folk favored

Cimon and friendship with Sparta, but progressive and modern Athenians followed Themistocles and his anti-Spartan plans.

335. Fall of Themistocles (472–471 B.C.)

Themistocles was unable to win a majority of the Assembly; he was ostracized (tailpiece, p. 165), and at length, on false charges of treason, he was condemned and obliged to flee for his life. The greatest statesman in Athenian history spent the rest of his life in the service of the Persian king, and he never again saw the city he had saved from the Persians and made mistress of an empire.

336. Fall of Cimon

In a final battle Cimon crushed the Persian navy on the coast of Asia Minor (468 B.C.) and returned to Athens covered with glory. In response to a request from the Spartans for help in quelling a revolt among *their own subjects*, Cimon urged the dispatch of troops to Sparta. Herein Cimon overestimated the good feeling of the Spartans toward Athens; for in spite of the continuance of the revolt, the Spartans after a time curtly demanded the withdrawal of the very Athenian troops they had asked for. Stung by this rebuff, to which Cimon's friendly policy toward Sparta had exposed them, the Athenians voted to ostracize Cimon (461 B.C.).

337. Growing power of the people

Cimon was a noble, and his overthrow was a victory of the people against the nobles. The people now passed laws cutting off all the political power of the old councils (§ 218). Meanwhile a more popular council of five hundred paid members, which had grown up, gained the power to conduct almost all of the government business of Athens. At the same time the citizen juries introduced by Solon as a court of appeal (§ 288) were greatly enlarged. To enable the poorest citizens to serve on these juries, the people passed laws granting pay for jury service. These juries, or citizen courts, were at last so powerful that they formed the final lawmaking body in the State, and, together with the Assembly of all the citizens, they made the laws. The people were indeed in control. This control was aided by a new law that, with one exception, all the higher officers of the State should be chosen by lot.

338. Chief *elective* office that of the general

There was, however, one kind of officer whom it was impossible to choose by lot, and that was the military commander, the general (*strategus*). The leader or president of the body of ten generals of Athens was the most powerful man in the State, and his office was elective. It thus became more and more possible for a noble with military training to make himself a strong and influential leader. If he was a man of persuasive eloquence he could lay out a definite series of plans for the nation, and by his oratory he could induce the Assembly of the Athenian citizens on the Pnyx (Fig. 80) to accept them.

339. The leadership of Pericles

After the fall of Cimon there came forward a handsome and brilliant young Athenian named Pericles, a descendant of one of the old noble families of the line of Clisthenes. He desired to build up the splendid Athenian Empire of which Themistocles had dreamed. He put himself at the head of the party of progress and of increased power of the people. He kept their confidence year after year, and thus secured his continued reëlection as general. The result was that he became the actual head of the State in power, or, as we might say, he was the undisputed political "boss" of Athens from about 460 B.C. until his untimely death over thirty years later.

340. Commerce, finances, and new government expenses

The new Athens of which he had become the head was rapidly becoming the leader of the Greek world. In this leadership commerce and money were coming to play a very large part.[1] A period of commercial prosperity followed the Persian wars. In her harbor town of Piræus, built by the foresight of Themistocles, the commerce of Athens flourished as never before. The population of Attica rose to probably over two hundred thousand, of whom over half lived at Athens. The State needed money far exceeding all its old needs. It required a hundred thousand dollars a year to pay the salaries of the jurymen and officials (§ 337). Large sums were needed

[1] A fuller statement of the growing importance of business and finance in the life of the Greek states will be found in *Ancient Times*, §§ 532–541.

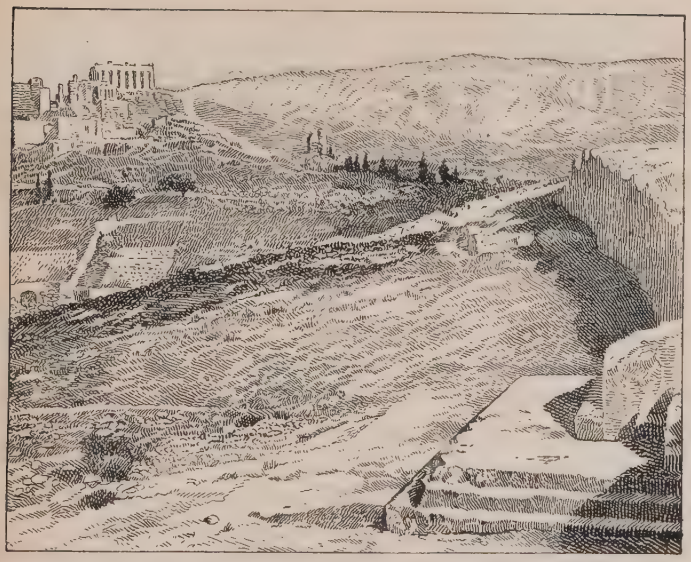


FIG. 80. THE PNYX, THE ATHENIAN PLACE OF ASSEMBLY

The speakers' platform with its three steps is immediately in the foreground. The listening Athenian citizens of the Assembly sat on the ground now sloping away to the left, but at that time probably level. The ground they occupied was inclosed by a semicircular wall, beginning at the further end of the straight wall seen here on the right, extending then to the left, and returning to the straight wall again behind our present point of view (see semicircle on Plan, p. 188). This was an open-air House of Commons, where, however, the citizen did not send a representative, but came and voted himself as he was influenced from this platform by great Athenian leaders, like Themistocles, Pericles, or Demosthenes. Note the Acropolis and the Parthenon, to which we look eastward from the Pnyx (see Plan, p. 188). The Areopagus is just out of range on the left (see Fig. 81)

for the new temples of marble; but the greatest expense was for war. A war fleet of two hundred triremes required nearly a hundred and twenty thousand dollars a month for wages of the sailors alone. The task of securing funds for running a government was a serious one.

341. The superior income of Athens

The total income of the Athenian State at this time hardly reached three quarters of a million dollars. Small as this seems to us of modern times, no other Greek state could raise anything like so large an annual income. Sparta, clinging to her old-fashioned ways, without manufactures or commerce and issuing only her old-time iron coins, could not compete financially with Athens. This fact had military consequences, for Sparta could not maintain her full army in the field more than a few weeks because of the expense. In so far as war was a matter of money, the commercial growth of Athens was giving her a growing superiority over all the other Greek states.

342. New defenses of Athens: Long Walls

Pericles had won favor with the people by favoring a policy of hostility to Sparta. Foreseeing the coming struggle with Sparta, Pericles greatly strengthened the defenses of Athens by inducing the people to connect the fortifications of the city with those of the Piræus harbor by two Long Walls, thus forming a road completely walled in, connecting Athens and her harbor (Plan, p. 188).

343. First war between Athens and Sparta (459–446 B.C.)

Not long after Pericles gained the leadership of the people the war with Sparta broke out. It lasted nearly fifteen years, with varying fortunes on both sides. The Athenian merchants resented the keen commercial rivalry of Ægina, planted as the flourishing island was at the very front door of Attica (see map, p. 188). They finally captured the island after a long siege. Pericles likewise employed the Athenian navy in blockading for years the other great rival of Athens and friend of Sparta, Corinth (Fig. 69), and thus ruined its merchants.

344. War with Persia; the Egyptian expedition

At the same time Athens dispatched a fleet of two hundred ships to assist Egypt, which had revolted against Persia. The Athenians were thus fighting both Sparta and Persia for years. The entire Athenian fleet in Egypt was lost. This loss so weakened the Athenian navy that the treasury of the Delian League was no longer safe in the little island of Delos against a possible sea raid by the Persians. Pericles therefore shifted the treasury from Delos to Athens, an act which made the city more than ever the capital of an Athenian empire.

When peace was concluded (445 B.C.) all that Athens was able to retain was the island of Ægina, though at the same time she gained control of the large island of Eubœa. It was agreed that the peace should continue for thirty years. Thus ended what is often called the First Peloponnesian War, with the complete exhaustion of Athens as well as of her enemies in the Peloponnesus. Pericles had not shown himself a great naval or military commander in this war. The Athenians also arranged a peace with Persia, over forty years after Marathon. But the rivalry between Athens and Sparta for the leadership of the Greeks was still unsettled. The struggle was to be continued in another long and weary Peloponnesian War. Before we proceed with the story of this fatal struggle we must glance briefly at the new and glorious Athens now growing up under the leadership of Pericles.

345. Peace with Sparta and Persia (445 B.C.)

QUESTIONS

SECTION 33. What great oriental power advanced to the east side of the Ægean? What did the Ionian cities of Asia do? What part did Athens take in their revolt? How did the Persians respond? Did the Athenians wait for the Persians at Athens? Who was their leader? Describe the Battle of Marathon.

SECTION 34. What was Themistocles' policy for the future defense of Athens? Describe Themistocles' plan of campaign. Describe the first two battles; the Battle of Salamis. What did Xerxes then do? What was the result of the Greek failure to accept Themistocles' advice? What victory did the Greeks win in Sicily? What happened to Themistocles? Describe the final battle. What final results were obtained by the Greeks at sea?

SECTION 35. What did Themistocles now do? What defensive arrangements did Athens now make with the eastern Greek cities? What differing policies did Cimon and Themistocles favor? What then happened to Themistocles? to Cimon? What new victories did the people gain? What new council arose?

How could a statesman still hold the leadership? Who now became the leader of the people's party? What were the chief expenses of the Athenian State? its chief sources of income? Could other states raise as much? Sketch the First Peloponnesian War.

CHAPTER X

ATHENS IN THE AGE OF PERICLES

Section 36. The Home, Education, and Training of Young Citizens

346. The new Athens and Athenian houses

The hasty rebuilding of Athens after the Persians had burned it did not produce any noticeable changes in the houses, nor were there any of great size or splendor. There were still no beautiful houses anywhere in Europe, such as we found on the Nile (Fig. 20). The one-story front of even a wealthy man's house was simply a blank wall, usually of sun-dried brick. The door, commonly the only opening in the windowless front, led into a court open to the sky and surrounded by a porch with columns adopted from Egypt (Fig. 21). Here in the mild climate of Greece the family could spend much of their time as in a sitting room (Fig. 106). Around the court opened a number of doors leading to a living room, sleeping rooms, dining room, storerooms, and also a tiny kitchen.

The house lacked all conveniences. There was no chimney, and the smoke from the kitchen fire, though intended to drift

Note. The above headpiece is a view of the Parthenon temple on the Acropolis at Athens. It shows the better-preserved side of the building as it is to-day. Contrast the other side, shown in Fig. 81.

up through a hole in the roof, often choked the room or floated out of the door. In winter gusty drafts filled the house, for many doorways were without doors, and glass in the form of panes for the windows (if there were any) was still unknown. The only stove was a pan of burning charcoal, called a brazier. Lacking windows, the ground-floor rooms depended entirely on the doors opening on the court for light. At night the dim light of an olive-oil lamp was all that was available. There was no plumbing or piping of any kind in the house, no drainage, and consequently no sanitary arrangements. The water supply was brought in jars by slaves from the nearest well or spring. The simplicity and bareness of the house itself were in noticeable contrast with the beautiful furniture and pottery which the Greek craftsmen were now producing (headpiece, p. 148). 347. Equipment of the Athenian houses

The city was about a mile wide and somewhat more in length. The streets were merely lanes or alleys, narrow and crooked, winding between the bare mud-brick walls of the low houses. There was neither pavement nor sidewalk, and a stroll through the town after a rain meant wading through the mud. All the household rubbish and garbage were thrown directly into the street, and there was no system of sewage. 348. Streets of Athens

The gorgeous oriental raiment of earlier days (§ 226) had now largely disappeared in Greece, as bright colors for men did among us in the days of our great-great-grandfathers. Nevertheless, the man of elegant habits gained a practiced hand in draping his white raiment and was proud of the gracefulness and the sweeping lines with which he could arrange its folds. The women were less inclined to give up the old finery, for unhappily they had little to think about but clothes and housekeeping (headpiece, p. 148). For Greek citizens still kept their wives in the background, and they were more than ever mere housekeepers. 349. Costume

There were therefore no schools for the girls, but when the boy was old enough he was sent to school in charge of an old

350. School and education

slave called a *pedagogue* (a Greek word meaning "leader of a child"). There were no schools maintained by the State and no schoolhouses. School was conducted in his own house by some poor citizen, who was much looked down upon. He received his pay from the parents. Besides music and learning to read and write as of old (§ 298), the pupil learned by heart many passages from the old poets, and here and there a boy with a good memory could repeat the entire Iliad and Odyssey. On the other hand, the boys still escaped all instruction in mathematics, geography, or natural science.

351. Attainment of citizenship and military service

When the Athenian lad reached the age of eighteen years and left school, he was received as a citizen, providing that both his parents possessed Athenian citizenship. At nineteen, after a year spent in garrison duty, the young recruits received spear and shield, given to each by the State. Thereupon they marched to the theater and entered the orchestra circle, where they were presented to the citizens of Athens before the play. Another year of garrison service on the frontier of Attica usually completed the young man's military service.

352. Athletics

If the wealth and station of his family permitted, the Athenian youth was then more than ever devoted to the new athletic fields. On the north of Athens, outside the Dipylon Gate, was the field known as the Academy. There was another similar athletic ground called the Lyceum on the east of the city. The later custom of holding courses of instructive lectures in these places (§ 479) finally resulted in giving the words "academy" and "lyceum" the associations they now possess for us. The earliest contest established at Olympia seems to have been a two-hundred-yard dash, which the Greeks called a *stadion* (six hundred Greek feet). The chief events were boxing, wrestling, running, jumping, casting the javelin, and throwing the disk. To these, other contests were afterward added, especially chariot and horseback races. Some of the philosophers later severely criticized the Greeks for giving far too much of their time and attention to athletic pursuits.

CENTRAL GREECE AND ATHENS

Section 37. Higher Education, Science, and the Training gained by State Service

353. Coming of the Sophists

On the other hand, there were serious-minded young men, who spent their time on worthier things. Many a bright youth who had finished his music, reading, and writing at the old-fashioned private school annoyed his father by insisting that such schooling was not enough and by demanding money to pay for a course of lectures delivered by more modern private teachers called *Sophists*, a class of new and clever-witted lecturers who wandered from city to city.

354. Higher education offered by the Sophists

In the lectures of the Sophists a higher education was for the first time open to young men. In the first place, the Sophists taught rhetoric and oratory with great success; fathers who had no gift of speech had the pleasure of seeing their sons practiced public speakers. It was through the teaching of the Sophists also that the first successful writing of Greek prose began. They also taught mathematics and astronomy, and the young men of Athens for the first time began to learn a little natural science.

355. The intellectual revolution; difference between young and old

In these new ideas the fathers were unable to follow their sons. When a father of that day found in the hands of his son a book by one of the great Sophists, which began with a statement questioning the existence of the gods, the new teachings seemed impious. The old-fashioned citizen could at least vote for the banishment of such impious teachers and the burning of their books, although he heard that they were read aloud in the houses of the greatest men of Athens. The revolution which had taken place in the mind of Thales (§ 306) was now taking place likewise in the minds of ever-increasing numbers of Greeks, and the situation was yet to grow decidedly worse in the opinion of old-fashioned folk.

In spite of the spread of knowledge due to the Sophists, the average Athenian's acquaintance with science was still very limited. The Greeks still used the inaccurate moon-month

356. Lack of general knowledge of science shown in time measurement

calendar. To be sure, they had often seen on the Pnyx, where the Assembly met, a strange-looking tablet bearing a new and improved calendar, set up by a builder and engineer named Meton. But all this was quite beyond the average citizen's puzzled mind. The archons shook their heads at it and would have nothing to do with it.

357. Progress in geographical knowledge

Progress was made in geographical knowledge, although travel was difficult. There were no passenger ships, and, except rough carts and wagons, there were no conveyances by land. The roads were bad, and the traveler went on foot or rode a horse. Nevertheless Greeks with means were now beginning to travel more frequently. Herodotus made long journeys in Egypt and other Eastern countries and returned with much new information regarding these lands. For example, he knew that the Red Sea connected with the Indian Ocean, a fact unknown to the Greeks before (see map, *Ancient Times*, p. 360).

358. Progress in medicine

Although without the microscope or the assistance of chemistry, medicine nevertheless made progress. In the first place, the Greek physicians rejected the older belief that disease was

* In this view we stand inside the wall of Themistocles, near the Dipylon Gate in the Potters' Quarter (see Plan, p. 188). In the foreground is the temple of Theseus, the legendary unifier of Attica, whom all Athenians honored as a god, and to whom this temple was long supposed (perhaps wrongly) to have been erected. It is built of Pentelic marble and was finished a few years after the death of Pericles; but now, after twenty-three hundred years or more, it is still the best-preserved of all ancient Greek buildings. Above the houses, at the extreme right, may be seen one corner of the hill called the Areopagus (see Plan, p. 188), often called Mars' Hill. It was probably here that the apostle Paul (§ 705) preached in Athens (see Acts xvii). The buildings we see on the lofty Acropolis are all ruins of the structures erected after the place had been laid waste by the Persians (§ 322). The Parthenon (§ 365), in the middle of the hill (see Plan, p. 188), shows the gaping hole caused by the explosion of a Turkish powder magazine ignited by a Venetian shell in 1687, when the entire central portion of the building was blown out. The space between the temple of Theseus, the Areopagus, and the Acropolis was largely occupied by the market place of Athens (§§ 363–364).

FIG. 81. THE SO-CALLED TEMPLE OF THESEUS, THE AREOPAGUS, AND THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS *

caused by evil demons, and endeavored to find the natural causes of the ailment. To do this they sought to understand the organs of the body. They discovered that the brain was the organ of thought, but the arterial system, the circulation of the blood, and the nervous system were still entirely unknown. The greatest physician of the time was Hippocrates, and he became the founder of scientific medicine. The fame of Greek medicine was such that the Persian king called a Greek physician to his court.

359. Progress in history-writing

Just at the close of Pericles' life, in the midst of national calamities, the historian Herodotus, who had long been engaged on a history of the world, finally published his great work. The story was so told that the glorious leadership of Athens would be clear to all Greeks and would show them that to her the Hellenes owed their deliverance from Persia. Throughout Greece it created a deep impression, and so tremendous was its effect on Athens that in spite of the financial drain of war the Athenians voted Herodotus a reward of ten talents, some twelve thousand dollars.

360. Educational influence of public service

Besides the instruction received from the Sophists by many young men, their constant share in public affairs was giving them an experience which greatly assisted in producing an intelligent body of citizens. In the Council of Five Hundred (§ 337), citizens learned to carry on the daily business of the government. Every day also six thousand citizens were serving as jurors (§ 337). This service alone meant that one citizen in five was always engaged in duties which sharpened his wits and gave him some training in legal and business affairs.

361. State feasts

Public festivals maintained by the State also played an important part in the lives of all Athenians. Every spring at the ancient feast of Dionysus the greatest play-writers each submitted three tragedies and a comedy to be played in the theater for a prize given by the State. The great State feast, called the Panathenæa, occurred every four years. A brilliant procession marched with music and rejoicing across the market

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A Corner of the Parthenon

Looking through the Doric colonnades at the southeast corner of the building to the distant hills of Hymettus. On the left is the base of the wall of the interior, blown out by the explosion of a Turkish powder magazine. At the top of this wall was the frieze of Phidias, extending around the inner part of the building. From painting by Bethe-Löwe (Rhine Prints by B. G. Teubner, Leipzig. The Prang Company, New York)

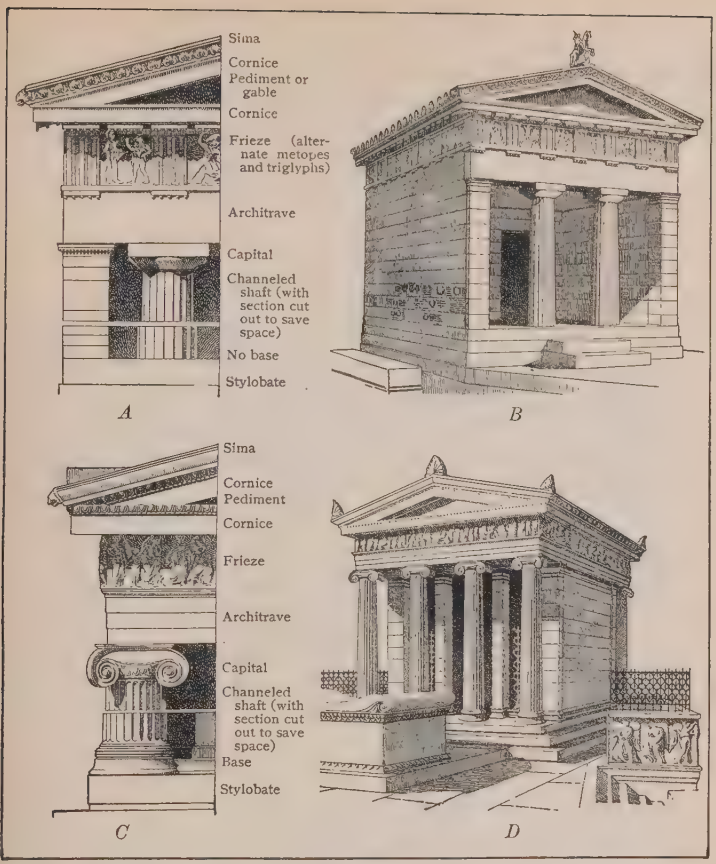


FIG. 82. THE TWO LEADING STYLES OF GREEK ARCHITECTURE, THE DORIC (*A* AND *B*) AND THE IONIC (*C* AND *D*)

The little Doric building (*B*) is the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi (Fig. 74), containing their offerings of gratitude to Apollo. On the low base at the left side of the building were placed the trophies from the Battle of Marathon. Over them on the walls are carved hymns to Apollo with musical notes attached, the oldest musical notation surviving. The beautiful Ionic building (*D*) is a restoration of the temple of Victory on the Athenian Acropolis. Contrast its slender columns with the sturdier shafts of the Doric style, and it will be seen that the Ionic order is a more delicate and graceful style. *A* and *C* show details of both styles.

(After Luckenbach)

place, carrying a beautiful new robe embroidered by the women of Athens for the goddess Athena. Following the procession the multitude ascended the Acropolis, where the robe was delivered to the goddess amid splendid sacrifices and impressive ceremonies.

Section 38. Art and Literature

362. The glory of the State

Under influences like those we have been discussing, men began to see a new vision of the glory of the nation. In music, the drama, art, and architecture, men were profoundly stirred by this new and exalted vision of the State, and every citizen found great works of art thus inspired thrust into the foreground of his life.

363. Painting

We can still follow the Athenian citizen and note a few of the noble monuments that met his eye as he went about the new Athens which Pericles was creating. When he wandered into the market place he found at several points colonnaded porches looking out upon the market. One of these, which had been presented to the city by Cimon's family, was called the "Painted Porch," for the wall behind the columns bore paintings by the artist Polygnotus. These paintings, depicting their glorious victory at Marathon, had been presented to the Athenians by the artist. The citizen could see the host of the fleeing Persians and in the thick of the fray he could pick out the figure of Themistocles, of Miltiades, of Callimachus, who fell in the battle, and of Æschylus, the great tragic poet.

364. Lack of fine buildings for government offices. Temples the only great State buildings

Behind the citizen rose a low hill, known as "Market Hill," around which were grouped plain, bare government buildings. In spite of the growing sentiment for the glory of the State, these plain buildings, like the Athenian houses, were all built of sun-dried-mud brick or, at the most, of rough rubble. The idea of great and beautiful buildings for the offices of the government was still unknown in the Mediterranean world, and no such building yet existed in Europe. Thus far the great public buildings of Greece were *temples* and not quarters for the offices of the government.

As the citizen turns from the Painted Porch the height of the Acropolis towers above him. There, on its summit, has always been the dwelling place of Athena, whose arm is ever

365. Pericles' new buildings on the Acropolis: the Parthenon

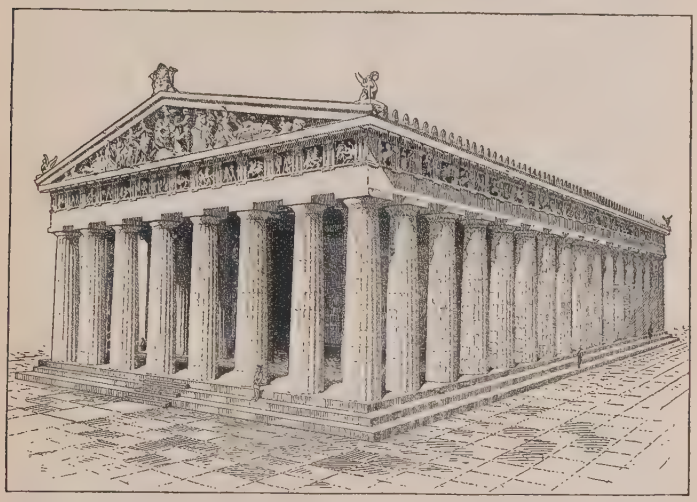


FIG. 83. RESTORATION OF THE PARTHENON AS IT WAS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C. (AFTER THIERSCH AND MICHAELIS)

This is the noble temple of Athena erected on the Acropolis of Athens by Pericles with the aid of the architect Ictinus and the sculptor Phidias (§ 365). The restoration shows us the wonderful beauty of the Doric colonnades as they were when they left the hands of the builders. In the Plate, p. 192, we gain a glimpse of the same colonnades as they are to-day, after the explosion of the Turkish powder magazine, the effect of which can be seen in Fig. 81. The gable ends each contained a triangular group of sculpture depicting the birth of Athena and her struggle with Poseidon, god of the sea, for possession of Attica. The wonderful frieze of Phidias (Fig. 84 and § 367) extended around the building inside the colonnades at the top of the wall

stretched out in protection over her beloved Athens. Now at last Pericles has undertaken to replace the ancient shrines burned by the Persians, on a scale of magnificence and beauty

before unknown anywhere in the Greek world. The tinkle of many distant hammers from the height above tells where the stonecutters are shaping the marble blocks for the still unfinished Parthenon, a noble temple dedicated to Athena (Figs. 81, 83, and also Plate, p. 196). There the people often see Pericles intently inspecting the buildings, as Phidias the sculptor and Ictinus the architect of the Parthenon follow him up and down the inclosure, explaining to him the progress of the work.

366. Introduction of Ionic columns

In these wondrous Greek buildings architect and sculptor worked hand in hand, in the creation of new and beautiful forms. Among the imposing marble colonnades, the citizen notices with interest a new style of column, called the Ionic (Fig. 82, *C* and *D*). It is lighter and more richly decorated than the simple Doric.

367. Phidias and the sculptures of the Parthenon

Phidias was the greatest of the sculptors at Athens. In a long band of carved marble extending entirely around the Parthenon (see Plate, p. 192) Phidias and his pupils portrayed the people of Athens moving in the stately procession (Fig. 84) of the Panathenaic festival (§ 361). Inside the new temple gleams the colossal figure of Athena, wrought by the cunning hand of Phidias in gold and ivory. Even from the city below the citizen can discern, touched with bright colors, the heroic figures of the gods with which Phidias filled the triangular gable ends of the building (Fig. 83).

368. The drama; Æschylus

In spite of the Sophists, these are the gods in whom the Athenian people still reverently believe. In their devout belief it is these gods who have raised Athens to the powerful position she now occupies. All the citizens recall the story of the glorious victory of Salamis as Æschylus has told it in his great drama "The Persians." The play told them of the mighty purpose of the gods to save Hellas just as the poet, who himself had fought the Persians (§ 363), might feel it.

369. Theater and people

As he skirts the foot of the Acropolis the citizen reaches the theater (see Plan, p. 188, and Fig. 86), where he finds the people are already entering, for the spring feast of Dionysus (§ 361)

FIG. 84. PART OF THE FRIEZE OF PHIDIAS, SHOWING ATHENIAN YOUTHS RIDING IN THE PANATHENAIC FESTIVAL PROCESSION (see § 361)

Notice the marvelous dash and vigor of the horses; also the strength of the last youth, as he reins in his steed till the animal's jaw is drawn back to its neck. The reins and trappings were of metal, and have disappeared

FIG. 85. HERMES PLAYING WITH THE CHILD DIONYSUS

The uplifted right hand (now broken off) of the god probably held a bunch of grapes, with which he was amusing the child (§ 200). This wonderful work was wrought by the sculptor Praxiteles and is one of the few *original* works of the greatest Greek sculptors found in Greece. Nearly all such Greek originals have perished and we know them only as ancient Roman copies found in Italy (§ 684). This great work was dug out at Olympia

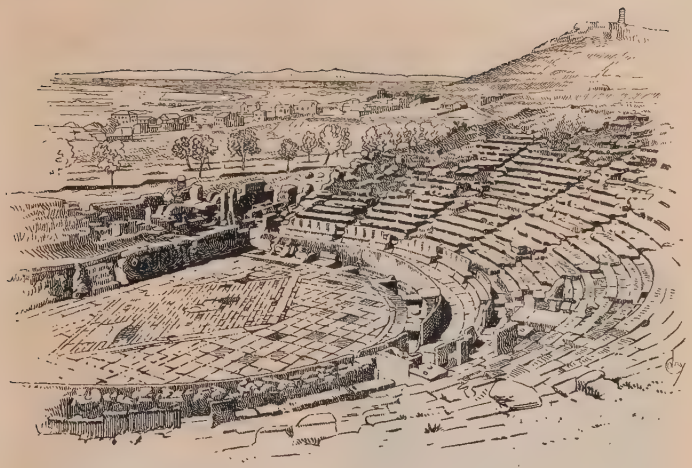


FIG. 86. THE THEATER OF ATHENS

This theater was the center of the growth and development of Greek drama, which began as a part of the celebration of the spring feast of Dionysus, god of the vine and the fruitfulness of the earth (§§ 238, 300, 361, 369). The temple of the god stood here, just at the left. Long before anyone knew of such a thing as a theater, the people gathered at this place to watch the celebration of the god's spring feast, where they formed a circle about the chorus, which narrated in song the stories of the gods (§ 300). This circle (called the orchestra) was finally marked out permanently, seats of wood for the spectators were erected in a semicircle on one side, but the singing and action all took place in the circle on the level of the ground. On the side opposite the public was a booth, or tent (Greek *skēnē*, "scene"), for the actors, and out of this finally developed the stage. Here we see the circle, or orchestra, with the stage cutting off the back part of the circle. The seats are of stone and accommodated possibly seventeen thousand people. The fine marble seats in the front row were reserved for the leading men of Athens. The old wooden seats were still in use in the days when Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides presented their dramas here, in competition for prizes awarded to the finest plays (§ 361). From the seats the citizens had a grand view of the sea with the island of Ægina, their old-time rival (§ 343); and even the heights of Argolis, forty miles away, were visible, for orchestra and seats continued roofless, and a Greek theater was always open to the sky. In Roman times a colonnaded porch across the back of the stage was introduced, and such columns of Roman date may be seen in the Plate, p. 144

has arrived. It is natural that the people should feel that the theater and all that is done there belong to them, especially as they look down upon the orchestra circle and recognize their friends and neighbors and their own sons in the chorus for the day's performance. The play would seem strange enough to us, for there is little or no scenery; and the actors, who are always men, wear grotesque masks, a survival of old days (§ 300). The narrative is largely carried on in song by the chorus, but this is varied by the dialogue of the actors, and the whole is not unlike an opera.

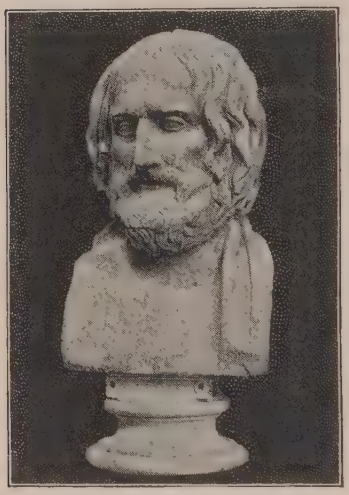


FIG. 87. PORTRAIT OF EURIPIDES

The name of the poet (§ 371) is engraved in Greek letters along the lower edge of the bust

370. Sophocles

A play of Sophocles is on, and the citizen's neighbor in the next seat leans over to tell him how as a lad many years ago he stood on the shore of Salamis, whither his family had fled, and as they looked down upon the destruction of the Persian fleet, this same Sophocles, a boy of sixteen, was in the crowd looking on with the rest. How deeply must the events of that tragic day have sunk into the boy's soul! For like Æschylus he too sees the will of the gods in all that happens to men. He believes that the stern decrees of Zeus everywhere control human life. But at the same time he uplifts his audience to worship Zeus, however dark the destiny which the great god lays upon men. For Sophocles still believes in the gods and is no friend of the Sophists, who scoff at them. In place of the former *two* actors, Sophocles has *three* in his plays, a change

which makes them more interesting and full of action. Even old Æschylus introduced this novelty once before he died. Yet much novelty is still unwelcome to the citizen.

The citizen feels this, especially if it is one of the new sensational plays of Euripides which is presented. Euripides (Fig. 87) is the son of a farmer who lives on the island of Salamis (Fig. 78). He is a friend and companion of the Sophists, and in matters of religion his mind is troubled with doubts. His new plays are all filled with these doubts regarding the gods, and they have raised a great many questions and some doubts which the citizen has never been able to banish from his own mind since he heard them. Sophocles therefore suits all the old-fashioned folk, and it is very rarely that Euripides has been able to carry off the prize in spite of

371. Euripides

FIG. 88. MONUMENT COMMEMORATING THE TRIUMPH OF AN ATHENIAN CITIZEN IN MUSIC

An entire street of Athens was filled with such monuments (§ 373). We learn the name of the citizen, Lysicrates, who erected this beautiful monument, from the inscription it still bears, which reads: "Lysicrates . . . was choragus [leader of the chorus] when the boy-chorus of the tribe of Akamantis won the prize; Theon was flute-player, Lysiades of Athens trained the choir. Euænetus was archon." The archon's name dates the erection of the monument for us in 335 to 334 B.C. Beyond the monument we look westward to the back of the Acropolis (see Plan, p. 188)

his great ability. The citizen feels some anxiety as he realizes that his own son and most of the other young men of his set are enthusiastic admirers of Euripides. They constantly read his plays and talk them over with the Sophists.

372. Comedy

The great tragedies were given in the morning, and in the afternoon the people were ready for less serious entertainment, such as *comedy* offered. Out of the old-time country feasts the comedy had also developed into a stage performance. The comedy-writers did not hesitate to introduce into their plays the greatest dignitaries of the State. Even Pericles was not spared, and great philosophers or serious-minded writers like Euripides were represented on the stage and made irresistibly ridiculous, while the multitudes of Athens vented their delight in roars of laughter mingled with shouts and cheers.

373. Continued widespread interest in the drama

In the long interval between these spring feasts the interest in drama and the theater continued, for the next annual competition soon demanded that probably two thousand men and boys of Athens should put all their leisure time into learning their parts, written out for them on sheets of papyrus, and into training and rehearsals for the various choruses. An entire street was filled with monuments commemorating the victories of citizens who had been voted prizes for training the best choruses (Fig. 88).

374. Books and reading

Thousands of citizens too were reading the old plays that had already been presented. For now at length books had come to take an important place in the life of Athens. In our Athenian citizen's library were Homer and the works of the old classic poets. They were written on long rolls of papyrus as much as a hundred and fifty or sixty feet in length. Besides literary works, all sorts of books of instruction began to appear. The sculptors wrote of their art, and there was a large group of books on medicine, bearing the name of Hippocrates. Textbooks on mathematics and rhetoric circulated, and the Athenian housekeeper could even find a cookbook at the bookshop.

Under such influences there had grown up at Athens a whole community of intelligent men. They were the product of the

most active interest in the life and government of the community. They constantly shared in its tasks and problems, and they were also in daily contact with the greatest works of art in literature, drama, painting, architecture, and sculpture. It had thus become such a wonderful community as the ancient world had never seen before. We see, therefore, how very different from the Athens of the old days before the Persian Wars was this imperial Athens of Pericles. Under Pericles Athens was becoming, as he desired it should, the teacher of the Greek world. It now remained to be seen whether the *people*, in complete control of the State, could guide her wisely and maintain her new power. As we watch the citizens of Athens endeavoring to furnish her with wise and successful guidance, we shall find another and sadly different side of the life of this wonderful community.

375. The new Athens and the uncertainty of her future

QUESTIONS

SECTION 36. Describe an Athenian house of this age; its conveniences; its equipment; its decoration. What were the streets of Athens like? Describe Greek costume in this age. What was now the position of women? Describe the usual school and its teacher. What subjects were taught? What did a boy do when he left school? What were the chief events in athletics?

SECTION 37. What did the Sophists teach? What did the fathers think about such teaching? Was there any general knowledge of science? What discoveries were made in geography? in medicine? in history-writing? How did government business train the citizens of Athens? What can you say about official State feasts at Athens?

SECTION 38. Discuss the painting of Marathon in the Athenian market place. What buildings did Pericles erect? Describe the sculpture of Phidias. What play did Æschylus write about the war with Persia? Describe the theater at Athens. Describe a Greek play. What did Sophocles think about the gods and the Sophists?

What did Euripides think about the gods? To which of these two men did the Athenians vote the most prizes? Tell about the comedies played at Athens. How did the Athenians take part in drama and music? What books could a citizen find at the bookshop?

CHAPTER XI

THE FALL OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

Section 39. The Second Peloponnesian War

376. Tyranny of Athens over the states of the Athenian Empire

While Athens under the guiding hand of Pericles had thus made herself the chief center of refined and civilized life in the Greek world, her political situation was becoming a serious one. When the danger from Persia seemed over, some of the island states of the Empire wished to withdraw. But Athens would not permit them to do so. She sent out her war fleet, conquered the rebellious islands, and forced them to pay money tribute instead of contributing ships. Often many of their citizens were driven out and their lands were divided among Athenian settlers. The people of the Empire outside of Attica

Note. The above headpiece shows us the lovely Porch of the Maidens built to adorn the temple on the Acropolis known as the Erechtheum. This was a very ancient sanctuary of Athena, supposed to have gained its name because it was originally a shrine in the castle of the prehistoric king Erechtheus on the Acropolis. It was believed to stand on the spot where Athena overcame Poseidon in her battle with him for the possession of Attica, and here was the mark of the sea god's trident which he struck into the earth. Here also grew the original olive tree which Athena summoned from the earth as a gift to the Athenians. The building was erected during the last Peloponnesian war, in spite of the financial distress of Athens at that time. It is one of the most beautiful architectural works left us by the Greeks.

were not allowed to become Athenian citizens. This policy deprived Athens of the large body of loyal citizens which she might have gained from among the subject cities. At the same time Athens forced all the people of the Empire to come there to settle their legal differences before her citizen-juries. Much discontent resulted among the states of the Empire, and more than one of them sent secret messages to Sparta, with the purpose of throwing off Athenian control and going over to Sparta.

377. Hostility of the rivals of Athens

While such was the state of affairs *within* the Athenian Empire, conditions *outside* were even more serious. To a backward military State like Sparta there were reasons for feeling jealous of Athens. Among these reasons were the outward splendor of Athens, her commercial prosperity, her not very conciliatory attitude toward her rivals, the visible growth of her power, and the example she offered of the seeming success of triumphant democracy. This feeling of unfriendliness toward Athens was not confined to Sparta but was quite general throughout Greece. The merchants of Corinth found Athenian competition a continuous vexation. When Athenian possessions in the north Ægean revolted and received support from Corinth and Sparta, the fact that hardly half of the thirty years' term of peace (§ 345) had expired did not prevent the outbreak of war.

378. Opening of Second Peloponnesian War (431 B.C.)

It seemed as if all European Greece not included in the Athenian Empire had united against Athens, for Sparta controlled the entire Peloponnesus except Argos, and north of Attica, Bœotia led by Thebes, as well as its neighbors on the west, were hostile to Athens. The support of Athens consisted of the Ægean cities which made up her empire and a few outlying allies of little power. She began the struggle with a large war fund and a fleet which made her undisputed mistress of the sea. But she could not hope to cope with the land forces of the enemy, which, some thirty thousand strong, had planned to meet in the Isthmus in the spring of 431 B.C.

379. Pericles' plan of campaign

Accordingly, Pericles' plan for the war was to undertake only naval enterprises and to make no effort to defend Attica by land. When Sparta led the Peloponnesian army into Attica, Pericles directed the country people to leave their homes and take refuge within the walls of Athens. Here they were placed in the open markets and squares, the sanctuaries, and especially between the Long Walls leading to the Piræus. To offset the devastation of Attica by the Spartan army, all that Athens could do was to organize destructive sea raids and inflict as much damage as possible along the coasts of the Peloponnesus, or blockade and destroy Corinthian commerce as of old.

380. The plague in Athens

The masses of people crowded within the walls of Athens under the unsanitary conditions we have already described (§ 348) exposed the city to disease. A plague, brought in from the Orient, raged with intermissions for several seasons. It carried off probably a third of the population, and from this unforeseen disaster Athens never recovered. Constantly under arms for the defense of the walls, deprived of any opportunity to strike the enemy, forced to sit still and see their land laid waste, the citizens at last broke out in discontent.

381. Fall and death of Pericles (429 B.C.)

In spite of his undaunted spirit Pericles was unable to hold the confidence of a majority. He lost control, was tried for misappropriation of funds, and fined. The absence of his steadying hand and powerful leadership was at once felt by the people. There was no one to take his place, although a swarm of small politicians were contending for control of the Assembly. Realizing their helplessness, the people soon turned to Pericles again and elected him general. But the great days of his leadership were over; he was stricken with the plague and died soon after his return to power. Great statesman though he was, he had left Athens with a system of government which did not provide for the continuation of such leadership as he had furnished, and without such leadership the Athenian Empire was doomed.

Men of the prosperous manufacturing class now came to the front. They possessed neither the high station in life, the ability as statesmen, nor the qualities of leadership to win the confidence and respect of the people. Moreover, these new leaders were not soldiers, and could not command the fleet or the army as Pericles had done. The only notable exception was Alcibiades, a brilliant young man, a relative of Pericles and brought up in his house. The two sons of Pericles had died of the plague, and Alcibiades, if he had enjoyed the guidance of his foster father a few years longer, might have become the savior of Athens and of Greece. As it happened, however, this young leader was more largely responsible than anyone else for the destruction of the Athenian Empire and the downfall of Greece.

382. Lack of leaders after the death of Pericles; Alcibiades

Athens therefore completely lacked a strong and steadfast leader, whose well-formed plans might furnish a firm and guiding influence. Hence the management of Athenian affairs fell into confusion. Wavering and changeableness were rarely interrupted by any display of firmness and wisdom. The leaders of the Assembly drifted from one plan to another, and usually from bad to worse. It seemed impossible to regain steadfast leadership. Cleon, a tanner, one of the new leaders from among the common people, was a man of much energy, with a good deal of financial ability. As the war dragged on, the payment of army and fleet reduced Athenian funds to a very low state. Cleon then succeeded in having an income tax introduced, and later on the tribute of the Ægean cities was raised.

383. Unstable leadership of the Athenian Assembly; Cleon the tanner and finances

Meantime there was really no *military* disaster of sufficient importance to cripple seriously either Sparta or Athens. It was the devastation wrought by the plague which had seriously affected Athens. Cleon having been killed in battle, the leadership fell into the hands of Nicias, a man of no ability. After ten years of indecisive warfare a peace was arranged by Nicias to be kept for fifty years. Each contestant agreed to give up all new conquests and to retain only old possessions.

384. Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.)

Section 40. Third Peloponnesian War and Destruction of the Athenian Empire

385. Alcibiades brings on war again

Meantime serious difficulties arose in carrying out the conditions of the peace. Nicias continued to urge a conciliatory attitude toward Sparta, but he failed of election as general. On the other hand, the gifted and reckless Alcibiades, seeking opportunity for a brilliant military career, did all that he could to excite the war party in Athens. He was elected general and was soon able to carry the Assembly with him in his war plans. In this way Attica, exhausted with plague and ten years of warfare, was enticed by Alcibiades into a life-and-death struggle which was to prove final.

386. Third Peloponnesian War; Sicilian expedition

The war began with several years of ill-planned military and naval operations. For some years the Spartans did not respond with hostilities and sent no army into Attica. Alcibiades at length persuaded the Athenians to plan a great joint expedition of army and navy against Sicily, especially the mighty city of Syracuse, founded as a colony of Corinth. The Athenians placed Alcibiades and Nicias in command of the expedition.

387. Arrest of Alcibiades and his flight to Sparta

Just as the fleet was about to sail, certain sacred images in Athens were impiously mutilated, and the deed was attributed to Alcibiades. In spite of his demand for an immediate trial, the Athenians postponed the case until his return from Sicily. When the fleet reached Italy, however, the Athenian people, with their usual inability to follow any consistent plan and also desiring to take Alcibiades at a great disadvantage, suddenly recalled him for trial. This procedure not only deprived the expedition of its only able leader but also gave Alcibiades an opportunity to desert to the Spartans, which he promptly did. His advice to the Spartans now proved fatal to the Athenians.

388. Incompetence of Nicias

The appearance of the huge Athenian fleet off their coast struck dismay into the hearts of the Syracusans, but Nicias entirely failed to see the importance of immediate attack before the Syracusans could recover and make preparations for the

defense of their city. When, after much delay, Nicias was finally induced by the second general in command to begin the siege of the city, courage had returned to the Syracusans, and their defense was well organized.

389. Athenian siege unsuccessful

On the advice of Alcibiades the Spartans sent an able commander with a small force to assist Syracuse, and the city was confident in its new ally. When Nicias made no progress in the siege, Athens responded to his call for help with a second fleet and more land forces. No Greek state had ever mustered such power and sent it far across the waters. All Greece watched the spectacle with amazement. Meantime the Syracusans too had organized a fleet. The Athenian fleet had entered the harbor, and in such narrow quarters they were unable to maneuver or take advantage of their superior seamanship. The fleet of Syracuse was finally victorious in several actions.

390. Capture of Athenian fleet and army at Syracuse (413 B.C.)

With disaster staring them in the face, there was nothing for the Athenians to do but withdraw. But just at this point an eclipse of the moon occurred, and the superstitious Nicias insisted on waiting another month for a more favorable moon. The Syracusans then blockaded the channel to the sea and completely shut up the Athenian fleet within the harbor, so that an attempt to break through and escape disastrously failed. The desperate Athenian army, abandoning sick and wounded too late, endeavored to escape into the interior, but was overtaken and forced to surrender. After executing the commanding generals, the Syracusans took the prisoners, seven thousand in number, and sold them into slavery or threw them into the stone quarries of the city, where most of them miserably perished. Thus the Athenian expedition was completely destroyed (413 B.C.). This disaster, together with the earlier ravages of the plague, brought Athens near the end of her resources.

Sparta, seeing the unprotected condition of Athens, now no longer hesitated to undertake a campaign into Attica. On the advice of Alcibiades again, the Spartans occupied the town of

391. Spartan garrison in Attica and civil war in Athens

Decelea, almost within sight of Athens. Here they established a permanent fort held by a strong garrison, and thus placed Athens in a state of perpetual siege. All agriculture ceased, and the Athenians lived on imported grain. The people now understood the folly of having sent away on a distant expedition the ships and the men that should have been kept at home to repel the attacks of a powerful and still uninjured foe. The distress in the city was increased by bloody struggles between the people and the nobles for the control of the government.

392. Persia aids the Peloponnesians against Athens

To add still further to the Athenian distress, the powerful Persian satrap in western Asia Minor was aiding the Spartans. Indeed, both Athens and Sparta had long been negotiating with Persia for aid, and Sparta had recognized Persian rule over the Greek cities of Asia. The Greek islands and the cities of Asia Minor which had once united in the Delian League with Athens to throw off Persian rule were now combining with Sparta and Persia against Athens. Thus the former union of the Greeks in a heroic struggle against the Asiatic enemy had given way to a disgraceful scramble for Persian support and favor.

393. Restoration, second fall, and death of Alcibiades

Meantime the Athenians again turned to Alcibiades for help. In several conflicts, chiefly through his skill, the Peloponnesian fleet was finally completely destroyed, and Athens regained the command of the sea. Then Alcibiades returned in triumph to Athens and was elected general. It now needed only the abilities of such a leader as Alcibiades to bring about the union of the distracted Greek states and to found a great Greek nation. At this supreme moment, however, Alcibiades lacked the courage to seize the government, and the opportunity never returned. When he put to sea again a slight defeat, inflicted on a part of his fleet when he was not present, cost him the favor of the fickle Athenians. They failed to reëlect him general, and he retired to a castle which he had kept in readiness on the Hellespont. He never saw his native land again and died in exile, the victim of a Persian dagger.

394. Capture of the Athenian fleet at Ægospotami (405 B.C.)

In spite of some success at sea, Athens now suffered worse than ever before for lack of competent commanders. As a result the final disaster could not be long avoided. The Attic fleet of a hundred and eighty triremes was lulled into false security in the Hellespont near the river called Ægospotami. Then as it lay drawn up on the beach it was surprised by the able Spartan commander Lysander and captured almost intact.

395. Surrender of Athens and fall of the Athenian Empire (404 B.C.)

At last, twenty-seven years after Pericles had provoked the war with Sparta, the resources of Athens were exhausted. Not a man slept on the night when the terrible news of final ruin reached Athens. It was soon confirmed by the appearance of Lysander's fleet blockading the Piræus. The grain ships from the Black Sea could no longer reach the port of Athens. Starvation finally forced the stubborn democratic leaders to submit, and the city surrendered. The Long Walls and the fortifications of the Piræus were torn down, the remnant of the fleet was handed over to Sparta, all foreign possessions were given up, and Athens was forced to enter the Spartan League. These hard conditions saved the city from the complete destruction demanded by Corinth. Thus the century which had begun so gloriously for Athens with the repulse of Persia, the century which under the leadership of such men as Themistocles and Pericles had seen her rise to supremacy in all that was best and noblest in Greek life, closed with the annihilation of the Athenian Empire (404 B.C.).

QUESTIONS

SECTION 39. How did Athens treat the subject states of her Empire? What was now her policy regarding citizenship? regarding lawsuits in the subject states? How did these states now feel toward Athens? How did the states outside the Athenian Empire feel? What was the result? Who were the enemies of Athens in this war? What were her resources?

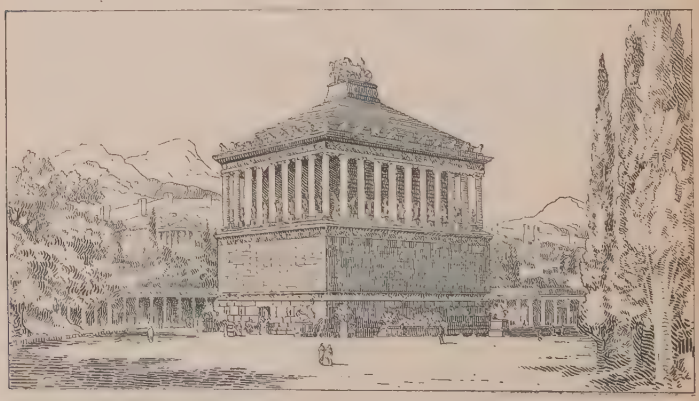
What was Pericles' plan of campaign? What disaster overtook Athens? How did this affect the fortunes of Pericles? What was the result? What young leader now came forward? What kind of

leadership did the Assembly now furnish? What business man now tried to lead the nation? How did he succeed? What was the result of ten years' war? Who arranged the peace? When?

SECTION 40. Who was chiefly responsible for the reopening of the war? What great expedition did the Athenians plan? Who were the commanders? What prevented Alcibiades from going? Tell the story of the expedition and its end. What did Sparta now do? What was now the internal condition of the Athenian Empire?

What part did Persia play in the war? What can you state of the restoration of Alcibiades to office? What was the result? What was the situation of Athens after the loss of her fleet? What conditions did Sparta make? Contrast the beginning and the end of the fifth century in Athenian history.

NOTE. The building below is a restoration by Adler of the famous tomb of King Mausolus of Caria, called after him the Mausoleum (§ 408). We now call any splendid tomb a mausoleum, thus preserving the old Hittite name of this king. It was, when first built (in the middle of the fourth century B.C.), the most magnificent tomb on the north side of the Mediterranean, and it was because of its widespread fame that its name was preserved. Upon a high rectangular base a fine Ionic colonnade supported a step pyramid, upon which, crowning the whole monument, rose a splendid four-horse chariot bearing the king and queen. The work was designed and built by the architect and sculptor Pythius, and adorned with sculpture by Scopas and other Athenian sculptors whom the queen (§ 408) called to Caria for the purpose.



CHAPTER XII

THE FINAL CONFLICTS AMONG THE GREEK STATES AND THEIR HIGHER LIFE AFTER PERICLES

Section 41. Spartan Leadership and the Decline of Democracy

396. Spartan rule and the struggle of oligarchy and democracy

The long struggle of Athens for the political leadership of the Greek world had failed. It now remained to be seen whether her victorious rival, Sparta, was any better suited to undertake such leadership. Military garrisons commanded by

Note. The above headpiece shows us one of the streets where it was the custom of both the Greeks and Romans (Fig. 94, *H*, *K*) to bury their dead. It was outside the Dipylon Gate (Plan, p. 188), on the sacred way leading to Eleusis, both sides of which were lined for some distance with marble tombstones. The Roman Sulla (§ 609). in his Eastern war, while besieging Athens, piled up earth as a causeway leading to the top of the wall of Athens (see Plan, p. 188) at this point. The part of the cemetery which he covered with earth was thus preserved, to be dug out in modern times — the only surviving portion of such an ancient Greek street of tombs. In this cemetery the Athenians of Socrates' day were buried. The monument at the left shows a brave Athenian youth on horseback, charging the fallen enemy. He was slain in the Corinthian War and buried here a few years after the death of Socrates (§ 418).

Spartan officers were placed in many of the Greek cities, and Spartan control was maintained in a much more offensive form than was the old tyranny of Athens. In each city the Spartans established and supported by military force a government carried on by a small group of men from the noble or upper class. Such rule of a small group was called *oligarchy*, a Greek term meaning "rule of a few." By such violent means Sparta was able to repress the democracies which had everywhere been hostile to her. In some cities the oligarchies were guilty of the worst excesses, murdering or banishing their political opponents and seizing their fortunes. When the people regained power they retaliated in the same way and drove the oligarchs from the city. Athens suffered greatly and to her misfortunes in foreign wars were thus added the constant violence of weakening inner struggles between classes.

397. Rise of banking; financial experts

Athens was still the greatest city and the leading business center in the Mediterranean world. While farming declined manufacturing business flourished. Wealthy men combined their capital to form the first Greek banks at Athens. Athens thus became the financial center of the ancient world, as New York and London are to-day, and her bankers became the proverbially wealthy men of the time. At the same time the finances of a nation became more and more a matter of special training, and it was more difficult for the average citizen without experience to conduct the financial offices of the government.

398. Rise of professional soldiers as a result of the Peloponnesian Wars

The same thing was true of military affairs. The long Peloponnesian Wars had kept large numbers of Greeks so long in the army that many of them remained in military life and became *professional soldiers*. Such soldiers serving a foreign state for pay are called "mercenaries." The Greek youths who could find no opportunities at home were therefore enlisting as soldiers in Egypt, in Asia Minor, and in Persia, and the best young blood of Greece was being spent to strengthen foreign states instead of building up the power of the Greeks.

399. Rise of professional military leaders; Xenophon and the Ten Thousand

During the Peloponnesian Wars *military leadership* had also become a profession. Athens produced a whole group of professional military leaders, the most talented among whom was Xenophon. About 400 B.C. he took service in Asia Minor with Cyrus, a young Persian prince. In a famous retreat from Babylon, Xenophon led ten thousand Greek troops up the Tigris past the ruins of Nineveh and through the mountains until they reached the Black Sea and finally returned home in safety. Of this extraordinary raid into the Persian Empire Xenophon has left a modest account called the "Anabasis" ("up-going"), one of the great books which have descended to us from ancient times.

400. Rise of military science; introduction of siege machinery and larger warships

Such leaders were now discussing the theory of military operations, methods of strategy, and the best kinds of weapons; and books on military science were appearing. The Mediterranean, which had so long ago received the arts of *peace* from the Orient, was now also learning from the same source the use of war machinery like movable towers and battering rams. At the same time larger warships were constructed, some having as many as five banks of oars, and the old triremes with three banks could no longer stand against these new and powerful ships.

401. War of the Greek states against Sparta (395–387 B.C.); war between Sparta and Persia; the King's Peace (387 B.C.)

The rule of Sparta finally caused such dissatisfaction that the Greeks, led by Athens, began to revolt. Athenian successes against Sparta at length led the Persians to fear lest Athens should again be strong enough to endanger Persian control in Asia Minor. The Spartans, who had been fighting Persia, therefore found it easy to arrange a peace with the Persians. The Greek states fighting Sparta were equally willing to come to terms, and when peace was at last established in Greece, it was under the humiliating terms of a treaty accepted by Hellas at the hands of the Persian king. It is known as the King's Peace (387 B.C.). It did not end the leadership of Sparta over the Greek states, and the Greek cities of Asia Minor were shamefully abandoned to Persia.

Section 42. The Fall of Sparta and the Leadership of Thebes

402. Thebes and a new Athenian league against Sparta (378 B.C.)

The Spartans were finally more hated than Athens had ever been. At Thebes a group of fearless and patriotic citizens succeeded in slaying the oligarchs. The Spartan garrison at Thebes surrendered and a democracy was set up, which gained the leadership of all Bœotia. Athens and Thebes then led another combination against Sparta. The Spartans met disaster on land, and when this was followed by the defeat of their fleet by Athens, they were ready for peace.

403. Peace congress of the Greek states at Sparta

To arrange this peace all the Greek states met at Sparta, and such meetings gave them experience in the united management of their common affairs for the welfare of all Hellas. By giving them all a voice in the control of Hellas, Sparta might still have finally united the Greeks into a great nation. But this was not to be. When the conditions of peace were all agreed upon, the Spartans refused to allow Thebes to speak for the whole of Bœotia. The Thebans refused to enter the compact on any other terms, and the peace was concluded without them. This left Sparta and Thebes still in a state of war.

404. New tactics of Epaminondas, the Theban

All Greece now expected to see the Thebans crushed by the heavy Spartan phalanx,[1] which had so long proved irresistible. But the Theban commander, a gifted and patriotic citizen named Epaminondas, devised an altogether novel arrangement of the Theban troops. He drew up his line so that it was not parallel with that of the Spartans, his right wing being much further from the Spartan line than his left. At the same time he massed his troops on his left wing, which he made fifty shields deep.

The battle took place at Leuctra, in southern Bœotia (see map, p. 188). As the lines moved into action the battle did not

[1] The action and effect of an advancing Greek phalanx are described in *Ancient Times*, § 637. For Plan of the Battle of Leuctra see *ibid.*, page 403.

begin along the whole front at once; but the massive Theban left wing, being furthest advanced, met the Spartan line first and was at first engaged alone. Its onset proved so heavy that the Spartan right opposing it was soon crushed, and the rest of the Spartan line also gave way as the Theban center and right came into action. Over half of the Spartans engaged were slain and with them their king. The long-invincible Spartan army was at last defeated, and the charm of Spartan prestige was finally broken. After more than thirty years of leadership (since 404 B.C.) Spartan power was ended (371 B.C.).

405. Battle of Leuctra and fall of Sparta (371 B.C.)

The two rival leaders of the Greeks, Athens and Sparta, had now both failed in the effort to weld the Greek states together as a nation. A third Greek state was now victorious on land, and it remained to be seen whether Thebes, the new victor, could accomplish what Athens and Sparta had failed in doing. Under Epaminondas' leadership Thebes likewise created a navy, and having greatly weakened Athens at sea, Thebes gained the leadership of Greece. But it was a supremacy based upon the genius of a single man, and when Epaminondas fell in a final battle with Sparta at Mantinea (362 B.C.), the power of Thebes by land and sea collapsed.

406. Leadership and speedy collapse of Thebes

Thus the only powerful Greek states which might have welded the Hellenic world into a nation, had crushed each other. Hellas was therefore doomed to fall helplessly before a conqueror from the outside. The Greek world, whose civilization was everywhere supreme, was politically prostrate and helpless. It was less than two generations since the death of Pericles, and there were still old men living who had seen him in their young days. In spite of their political decline during the two generations since Pericles, the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, had been achieving things in their higher life, in art, architecture, literature, and thought, which made this period perhaps the greatest in the history of man. To these achievements since the death of Pericles we must now turn back.

407. Final political prostration of the whole Greek world; progress of the Greeks in the higher life

Section 43. Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting

408. The Mausoleum in Asia Minor

While Athens no longer possessed the means to erect great state temples, other Greek states were not all so financially exhausted. In Asia Minor the widowed queen of Mausolus, the wealthy king of the Carians, devoted vast riches to the erection of a magnificent marble tomb for her departed husband. It was called the Mausoleum, after Mausolus, and its splendor was such that it became one of the most famous monuments of the ancient world (tailpiece, p. 210). Among other things it owed its beauty to the rich and remarkable sculpture with which it was adorned. To do this work the widowed queen called in the greatest sculptors of the Greeks.

409. The sculpture of Praxiteles

Sculpture had made notable progress since the days of Pericles. The great Athenian sculptor Praxiteles led the way. His native city being without the money for large monumental works, Praxiteles wrought individual figures of life size. Unlike the majestic, cold, and godlike figures of Phidias, the gods of Praxiteles seem near to us. They at once appeal to us as being human like ourselves, interested in a life like ours, and doing things which we would like to do ourselves. As they stand at ease in attitudes of repose, we find in them a beauty unattained by any earlier sculpture of the Greeks (Fig. 85). The *faces* sculptured by Praxiteles were no longer expressionless, as in earlier sculpture; but the artists began to put into them some of their own inner feeling. In many ways the sculpture of this age was much influenced by the work of the painters, who really led the way.

410. Painting; discovery of how to paint light, shadow, and perspective

The introduction of portable paintings on wooden tablets made it possible for people of wealth to set up paintings in their own houses, and in this way private support of art increased and painting made more rapid progress than ever before or since. An Athenian painter named Apollodorus now began to notice that the light usually fell on an object from one side, leaving the unlighted side so dark that but little color showed

on that side, while on the lighted side the colors came out very brightly. When he painted a woman's arm in this way, lo, it looked round and seemed to stand out from the surface of the painting; whereas up in the Painted Porch all the human limbs in the old painting of Marathon (§ 363) looked perfectly flat. By representing figures in the background of his paintings as smaller than those in front, Apollodorus also introduced what we now call *perspective*. As a result, his paintings had an appearance of depth, and when he painted the interior of a house one seemed to be looking into the very room itself.

Section 44. Religion, Literature, and Thought

411. The age of conflict after the death of Pericles

Any young Athenian born at about the time of Pericles' death found himself in an age of conflict wherever he went: an age of conflict *abroad* on the field of battle as he stood with spear and shield in the Athenian ranks in the long years of warfare between Athens, Sparta, and Thebes; an age of conflict *at home* in Athens amid the tumult and even bloodshed of the streets and markets of the city as the common people, the democracy, struggled with the nobles for the leadership of the State; and finally in an age of conflict *in himself* as he felt his own faith in old things struggling to maintain itself against new views which were coming in (§ 355).

412. The Athenian citizen's religion and early life

He recalled the childhood tales of the gods, which he had heard at his nurse's knee. When he had asked her how the gods looked, she had pointed to a beautiful vase in his father's house. There were the gods on the vase in human form, and so he had long thought of them as people like those of Athens. Later at school he had memorized long passages of the Homeric poems, and learned more about their adventures on earth. Then he had begun to go to the theater, where he was much delighted with the comedies of Aristophanes, the greatest of the comedy writers (§ 372). Aristophanes made ridiculous such men as Euripides and the Sophists, who doubted the existence of the gods.

413. The victory of doubt and the triumph of Euripides

Then when he left his boyhood teacher behind, and went to hear the lectures of a noted Sophist (§§ 353–354), he found that no one knew with any certainty whether the gods even existed; much less did anyone know what they were like. Nevertheless, he was not yet quite ready to throw away the gods and reject them altogether, as some of his educated neighbors were doing. Whatever the gods might be like, he was sure that they were not such beings as he found pictured among his heroic forefathers in the Homeric poems. Now he had long since cast aside his Homer. He and his educated friends were all reading the splendid tragedies of Euripides (§ 371), with their uncertainties, struggles, and doubts about life and the gods. Euripides, to whom the Athenians had rarely voted a victory during his lifetime (§ 371), had now triumphed; but his triumph meant the defeat of the old beliefs, the victory of doubt, the rejection of the gods, and the incoming of a new age in thought and religion.

414. Socrates

The citizen was reminded of another source of doubt as he passed on the street the rude figure of a poor Athenian named Socrates. He was the son of a stonecutter, or small sculptor. The ill-clothed figure and ugly face (Fig. 89) of Socrates had become familiar in the streets to all the folk of Athens since the outbreak of the second war with Sparta. He was accustomed to stand about the market place all day long, engaging in conversation anyone he met, and asking a great many questions. Our citizen recalled that Socrates' questions left him in a very confused state of mind, for he seemed to throw doubt on everything which the citizen had once regarded as settled.

415. The State the chief interest of Socrates

Yet this familiar and homely figure of the stonecutter's son was the personification of the best and highest things in Greek genius. Without desire for office or a political career, Socrates' greatest interest nevertheless was the State. He believed that the State, made up as it was of citizens, could be purified and saved only by the improvement of the *individual citizen* through the education of his mind to recognize virtue and right.

Inspired by this belief, Socrates went about in Athens, engaging all his fellow citizens in discussion, convinced that he might thus lead each citizen in turn to a knowledge of the leading virtues. He firmly believed that the citizen who had once recognized these virtues would shape every action of his life by them. Socrates thus revealed the power of virtue and of similar ideas by argument and logic, but he made no appeal to religion as an influence toward good conduct. Nevertheless, he showed himself a deeply religious man, believing with devout heart in the gods, although they were not exactly those of the fathers, and even feeling, like the Hebrew prophets, that there was a divine voice within him, calling him to his high mission.

416. His belief in man's power to discern the great truths as such and to shape his conduct by them

FIG. 89. PORTRAIT OF SOCRATES

This is not the best of the numerous surviving portraits of Socrates, but it is especially interesting because it bears under the philosopher's name nine inscribed lines containing a portion of his public defense as reported by Plato in his *Apology*

The simple ways and powerful mind of this greatest of Greek teachers often opened to him the houses of the rich and noble. His fame spread far and wide, and when the Delphian oracle (§ 236) was asked who was the wisest of the living, it responded with the name of Socrates. A group of pupils gathered about him, among whom the most famous was Plato. But his aims and his noble efforts on behalf of the Athenian State were misunderstood. His keen questions seemed to throw doubt upon all the old beliefs.

417. Public opinion of Socrates

418. The trial and death of Socrates (399 B.C.)

So the Athenians summoned Socrates to trial for corrupting the youth with all sorts of doubts and impious teachings. Socrates might easily have left Athens when the complaint was lodged against him. Nevertheless he appeared for trial, made a powerful and dignified defense, and, when the court voted the death penalty, passed his last days in tranquil conversation with his friends and pupils, in whose presence he then quietly drank the fatal hemlock poison (399 B.C.). Thus the Athenian democracy, which had so fatally mismanaged the affairs of the nation in war, brought upon itself much greater reproach in condemning to death, even though in accordance with law, the greatest and purest soul among its citizens.

419. The influence of Socrates after his death

The undisturbed serenity of Socrates in his last hours, as pictured to us in Plato's story of the scene, profoundly affected the whole Greek world and still forms one of the most precious possessions of humanity. He was the greatest Greek, and in him Greek civilization reached its highest level. The glorified figure of Socrates, as he appeared in the writings of his pupils, was to prove more powerful even than the living teacher.

420. Scientific writing of history

The change in Greek belief was also evident in a new and remarkable history. Its author was Thucydides, the first scientific writer of history. A generation earlier Herodotus' history (§ 359) had represented the fortunes of nations as due to the will of the gods; but Thucydides, with an insight like that of modern historians, traced historical events to their *earthly* causes in the world of men where they occur. There stood the two books, Herodotus and Thucydides, side by side in the citizen's library. There were only thirty years or so between them, but how different the beliefs of the two historians, the old and the new! Thucydides' history has been one of the world's greatest prose classics ever since.

The success of Thucydides' work shows that the interest of the Athenians was no longer in poetry but in the new and more youthful art of prose. The teachers of rhetoric at Athens, the successors of the old Sophists (§ 353), became

world-renowned, and they made the city the center of education for the whole Greek world. The leader among them was Isocrates. He chose as his theme the great political questions of his time. He was not a good speaker, and he therefore devoted himself especially to the *writing* of his speeches, which he then published as political essays. Throughout Greece these remarkable essays were read, and Isocrates finally became the political spokesman of Athens, if not of all Greece. In such discussions there arose a new science, the *science of government.*

421. Athens the center of education; Isocrates; rise of the science of government

Plato, the most gifted pupil of Socrates, was deeply interested in these new discussions. He published much of his beloved master's teaching in the form of dialogues, supposedly giving the discussions of the great teacher himself. Convinced of the hopelessness of democracy in Athens, he reluctantly gave up all thought of a career as a statesman, to which he had been strongly drawn, and settled down at Athens to devote himself to teaching. His school was in the grove of the Academy (§ 352).

422. Plato

In a noble essay entitled *The Republic* Plato presented a lofty vision of his ideal state and government. It was the self-contained, self-controlling city-state as it had in times past supposedly existed in Greece. He failed to perceive that the vital question for Greece was now *the relation of these city-states to each other.* He did not discern that the life of a cultivated state unavoidably passes beyond its own borders, and by its needs and its contributions affects the life of surrounding states. It cannot be confined within its *political* borders, for its *commercial* borders lie as far distant as transportation can carry its produce.

423. Plato's ideal state and its shortcomings

Thus boundary lines cannot separate nations; their life overlaps and mingles with the life round about them. It was so within Greece, and it was so far beyond the borders of Greek territory. There had thus grown up a *civilized world* which was reading Greek books, using Greek utensils, fitting up its houses with Greek furniture, decorating its house interiors with Greek paintings, building Greek theaters, learning Greek tactics

424. Growth of a Hellenized world

in war — a great eastern Mediterranean and oriental world made up of many peoples bound together by lines of commerce, travel, and common business interests. For this world, as a coming *political* unity, the lofty idealist Plato, in spite of much travel, had no eyes. To this world, once led by oriental culture, the Greeks had given the noblest and sanest ideas yet attained by the mind of civilized man, and to this world likewise the Greeks should have given *political leadership*.

425. Motives toward unity. Isocrates and Xenophon

Men in practical life, like Isocrates, clearly understood the situation at this time. Isocrates urged the Greeks to bury their petty differences and enlarge their purely *sectional* patriotism into loyalty toward a great nation which should unite the *whole Greek world*. He told his countrymen that, so united, they could easily overthrow the decaying Persian Empire and make themselves lords of the world, whereas now, while they continued to fight among themselves, the king of Persia could do as he pleased with them. To all Greeks who had read Xenophon's story of the march of his Ten Thousand (§ 399) the weakness of the Persian Empire was evident. Every motive toward unity was present.

426. Unalterable disunion the end of Greek political development

Nevertheless, no Greek city was willing to submit to the leadership of another. *Local* patriotism, like the sectionalism which brought on our Civil War, prevailed everywhere, and *unalterable disunion was the end of Greek political development*. As a result the Greeks were now to become subjects of an outside power (§ 428), which had never had any share in advancing Greek culture.

427. Supremacy of Greek genius in spite of political collapse

But in spite of this final and melancholy collapse of Greek political power, what an incomparably glorious age of Greek civilization was this which we have been sketching! The rivalries which proved so fatal to the political leadership of the Greeks had been a constant incentive spurring them all on, as each city strove to surpass its rivals in art and literature and all the finest things in civilization. Great as the age of Pericles had been, the age that followed was still greater. The tiny

Athenian state, with a population not larger than that of our little state of Delaware, and having at best twenty-five or thirty thousand citizens, had furnished in this period a group of great names in all lines of human achievement, such as never in all the history of the world arose elsewhere in an area and a population so limited. Their names to-day are among the most illustrious in human history, and the achievements which we link with them form the greatest chapter in the higher life of man. Furthermore, Greek genius was to go on to many another future triumph, in spite of the loss of that political leadership which we are now to see passing into other hands.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 41. Describe Sparta's rule over the Greeks. What is an oligarchy? How did it succeed? What can you say of banking and finance? Discuss the military men of this time; military science. In what did the rule of Sparta result? What was the outcome?

SECTION 42. What did the Thebans do? What was the result of the war? Tell about the peace congress at Sparta. What was the result? Describe the Battle of Leuctra. Who planned it? What state was then leader of Greece? What was the outcome? Was there any other state capable of uniting and leading the Greeks?

SECTION 43. Describe the Mausoleum (§ 408 and p. 210). Who was now the leading Greek sculptor? What progress did his work show? What form did painting now take? Who was the leading painter? What progress did his work show?

SECTION 44. In what ways was the age after Pericles one of conflict? How did an Athenian boy gain his ideas about the gods? How did doubts arise in his mind? What did he read? How did this affect his doubts? Who was Socrates and how did he teach? What was his chief interest? How did he attempt to improve the State? What was the people's impression about him? How did they finally treat him? How did his influence continue after his death?

What progress was made in history-writing? By whom? What can you say of Isocrates? Tell about the life of Plato. Describe the Hellenized world. Did the Greeks furnish it political leadership? What was the result of Greek political development?

CHAPTER XIII

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE HELLENISTIC AGE

Section 45. The Rise of Macedonia

428. The uncultivated states of the Balkan Peninsula and the North

On the northern frontiers in the mountains of the Balkan Peninsula Greek civilization gradually faded and disappeared, merging into the barbarism which had descended from Stone Age Europe. These backward Northerners, such as the Thracians, spoke Indo-European tongues akin to Greek, but their Greek kindred of the South could not understand them. A little Greek civilization began here and there to improve somewhat the rough and uncultivated life of the peasant population of

Note. The headpiece above (on the right) is a pleasing example of the Alexandrian art of mosaic — the art of putting together brightly colored bits of glass or stone and forming figures or designs with them, as a child puts together a puzzle picture. It was an old Egyptian art, which was carried much further by the Greeks at Alexandria, where they seem to have learned it, and used it in making beautiful pavements (§ 468). They even copied many old Egyptian designs, such as this painting (see above, at left) showing a cat with a bird in her mouth and also two more under her forepaws and hindpaws. It suggested the Alexandrian mosaic (on the right). The greatest example of mosaic is the copy of the painting of the Battle of Issus (Fig. 91).

Macedonia. The Macedonian kings began to cultivate Greek literature and art. The mother of Philip, king of Macedon, was grateful that she had been able to learn to write in her old age.

429. Philip of Macedon and his new army

Philip himself had enjoyed a Greek education, and when he gained the power over Macedonia, in 360 B.C., he understood perfectly the weakness of the disunited Greek world. With the ability of a skilled statesman and an able soldier, he planned to make himself master of the Greeks. Out of the peasant population of his kingdom Philip formed a permanent, or standing, army of professional soldiers. The infantrymen soon became famous as the "Macedonian phalanx." Heretofore horsemen had played but a small part in war in Europe. Philip now drilled also a large body of riders to move about *together* and to attack in *a single mass*, either alone or with the phalanx, so that the whole combined force, infantry and cavalry, moved as one great unit, an irresistible machine in which every part worked together with all the others.

430. Progress of Philip's conquests; two parties at Athens: Isocrates and Demosthenes

Philip then steadily extended the territory of his kingdom eastward and northward until it reached the Danube and the Hellespont. His progress on the north of the Ægean soon brought him into conflict with the interests of the Greek states, which owned cities in this northern region. Two parties then arose at Athens. One of them was quite willing to accept Philip's proffered friendship, and to recognize in him the uniter and savior of the Greek world. The leader of this party was Isocrates (§ 425), now an aged man. The other party, on the contrary, denounced Philip as a barbarous tyrant who was endeavoring to enslave the free Greek cities. The leader of this anti-Macedonian party was the great orator Demosthenes (Fig. 90). His "Philippics," as his public speeches denouncing King Philip are called, are among the greatest and noblest specimens of Greek eloquence; but they do not display a statesmanlike understanding of the hopelessly disunited condition of the ever-warring Greek states.

431. Philip gains the leadership of the Greeks (338 B.C.)

After a long series of hostilities Philip defeated the Greek forces in a final battle at Chæronea (338 B.C.), and firmly established his position as head of a league of all the Greek states except Sparta, which still held out against him. He had begun operations in Asia Minor intended to set free the Greek cities there, when two years after the Battle of Chæronea he was stabbed by conspirators during the revelries at the wedding of his daughter (336 B.C.).

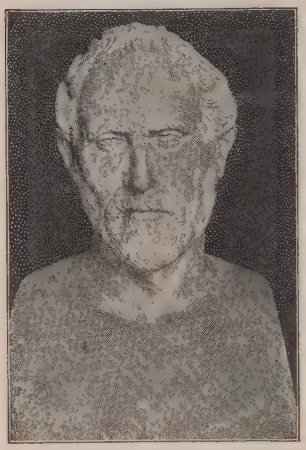


FIG. 90. PORTRAIT BUST OF DEMOSTHENES

432. Education and character of Alexander the Great

The power passed into the hands of his son Alexander, a youth of only twenty years. Seven years before, when Alexander was thirteen years of age, his father had summoned to the Macedonian court the great philosopher Aristotle (§ 479), a former pupil of Plato, to be the teacher of the young prince. Under his instruction the lad learned to know and love the masterpieces of Greek literature, especially the Homeric songs. The deeds of the ancient heroes touched and kindled his youthful imagination and lent a heroic tinge to his whole character. As he grew older and his mind ripened, his whole personality was aglow with the splendor of Greek genius and Hellenic culture.

SECTION 46. CAMPAIGNS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

433. Alexander subjugates the Greek states and becomes head of a Greek league

The Greek states were still unwilling to submit to Macedonian leadership, and they fancied they could overthrow so youthful a ruler as Alexander. They were soon to learn how old a head there was on his young shoulders. When Thebes revolted against Macedonia for the second time after Philip's

death, Alexander, knowing that he must take up the struggle with Persia, realized that it would not be safe for him to march into Asia without giving the Greek states a lesson which they would not soon forget. He therefore captured and completely destroyed the ancient city of Thebes, sparing only the house of the great poet Pindar (§ 299). All Greece was thus taught to fear and respect his power, but learned at the same time to recognize his reverence for Greek genius. The Greek states, therefore, with the exception of Sparta, formed a league and elected Alexander as its leader and general. As a result they all sent troops to increase his army.

434. Alexander, the champion of Hellas against Asia

The Asiatic campaign which Alexander now planned was to make it clear that he was the champion of Hellas against Asia. He thought to lead the united Greeks against the Persian lord of Asia, as the Hellenes had once made common cause against Asiatic Troy (§ 215). Leading his army into Asia Minor, he therefore stopped at Troy and camped upon the plain (Fig. 62, and map, p. 232) where the Greek heroes of the Homeric songs had once fought. Here he worshiped in the temple of Athena, and prayed for the success of his cause against Persia. He thus contrived to throw around himself the heroic memories of the Trojan War, till all Hellas beheld the dauntless figure of the Macedonian youth, as if he had stepped out of that glorious age which in their belief had so long ago united Greek arms against Asia (§ 215).

435. Battle of the Granicus (334 B.C.) and conquest of Asia Minor

Meantime the Great King had hired thousands of Greek heavy-armed infantry, and they were now to do battle against their own Greek countrymen. At the river Granicus, in his first critical battle, Alexander had no difficulty in scattering the forces of the western Persian satraps. Following the Macedonian custom, the young king, then but twenty-two years of age, led his troops into the thick of the fray and exposed his royal person without hesitation. But for the timely support of Clitus, the brother of his childhood nurse, who bravely pushed in before him at a critical moment, the impetuous young king

would have lost his life in this battle. Marching southward, he took the Greek cities one by one and freed all western Asia Minor forever from the Persian yoke.

436. Alexander's march through Asia Minor

Alexander then pushed boldly eastward, and rounded the northeast corner of the Mediterranean. Here, as he looked out upon the Fertile Crescent, there was spread out before him the vast Asiatic world of forty million souls, where the family of the Great King had been supreme for two hundred years. In this great arena he was to be the champion for the next ten years (333–323 B.C.).

437. Defeat of Darius III at the Battle of Issus (333 B.C.)

At this important point, by the Gulf of Issus (see map, p. 232), Alexander met the main army of Persia, under the personal command of the Great King, Darius III, the last of the Persian line. The Macedonians swept the Asiatics from the field (Fig. 91), and the disorderly retreat of Darius never stopped until it had crossed the Euphrates. The Great King then sent a letter to Alexander desiring terms of peace and

* The artist who designed this great work has selected the supreme moment when the Persians (at the right) are endeavoring to rescue their king from the onset of the Macedonians (at the left). Alexander, the bareheaded figure on horseback at the left, charges furiously against the Persian king (Darius III), who stands in his chariot (at the right). The Macedonian attack is so fierce that the Persian king's life is endangered. A Persian noble dismounts and offers his riderless horse, that the king may quickly mount and escape. Devoted Persian nobles heroically ride in between their king and the Macedonian onset, to give Darius an opportunity to mount. But Alexander's spear has passed entirely through the body of one of these Persian nobles, who has thus given his life for his king. Darius throws out his hand in grief and horror at the awful death of his noble friend. The driver of the royal chariot (behind the king) lashes his three horses, endeavoring to carry Darius from the field in flight (§ 437). This magnificent battle scene is put together from bits of colored glass (mosaic) forming a floor pavement, discovered in 1831 at the Roman town of Pompeii (Fig. 116). It has been injured in places, especially at the left, where parts of the figures of Alexander and his horse have disappeared. It was originally laid at Alexandria and suffered this damage in being moved to Italy. It is a copy of an older Hellenistic work, a painting done at Alexandria (§ 468). It is one of the greatest scenes of heroism in battle ever painted, and illustrates the splendor of Hellenistic art.

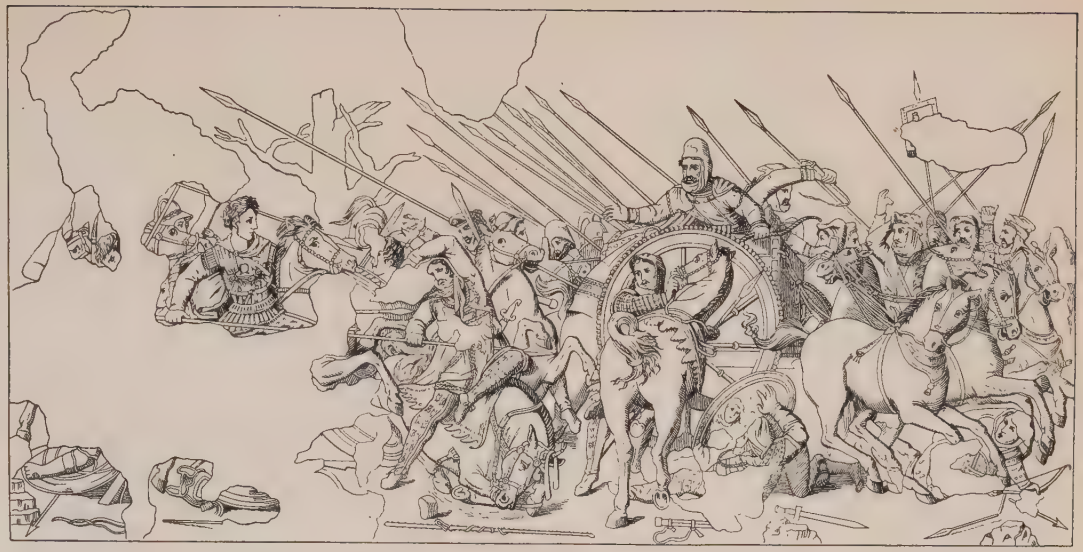


FIG. 91. ALEXANDER THE GREAT CHARGING THE BODYGUARD AND OFFICERS OF THE PERSIAN KING AT THE BATTLE OF ISSUS *

offering to accept the Euphrates as a boundary between them, all Asia west of that river to be handed over to the Macedonians.

438. The situation after Issus, and Alexander's friends

It was a dramatic picture, the figure of the young king, standing with this letter in his hand. As he pondered it he was surrounded by a group of the ablest Macedonian youth, who had grown up around him as his closest friends; but likewise by old and trusted counselors upon whom his father before him had leaned. As he considered the letter of Darius III, therefore, his father's old general Parmenio proffered him serious counsel, and, pointing out across the Mediterranean, he bade Alexander remember the Persian fleet operating there in his rear and likely to stir up revolt against him in Greece. There was nothing to do, said Parmenio, but to accept the terms offered by the Great King.

439. The decision after Issus, and Alexander's friction with his friends

In this critical decision lay the parting of the ways. Before the kindling eyes of the young Alexander there rose a vision of world empire controlled by Greek civilization — a vision to which the duller eyes about him were entirely closed. He waved aside his father's old counselors and decided to advance to the conquest of the whole Persian Empire. In this far-reaching decision he showed himself at once as the strong man who represented a new age. Thus arose the conflict which never ends — the conflict between the new age and the old, just as we have seen it at Athens (§§ 355, 411, 418). We shall now follow it again in the daily growing friction between Alexander and that group of devoted, if less gifted, Macedonians who were now drawn by him into the labors of Hercules — the conquest of the world.

440. Conquest of Phœnicia and Egypt; dispersion of the Persian fleet

The danger from the Persian fleet was now carefully and deliberately met by a march southward along the eastern end of the Mediterranean. All the Phœnician seaports on the way were captured. Feeble Egypt, so long a Persian province, then fell an easy prey to the Macedonian arms. The Persian fleet, thus deprived of all its home harbors and cut off from its home government, soon scattered and disappeared.

Having thus cut off the hostile fleet in his rear, Alexander returned from Egypt to Asia, and, marching eastward along the Fertile Crescent, he crossed the Tigris close by the mounds which had long covered the ruins of Nineveh. Here, near Arbela, the Great King had gathered his forces for a last stand (see map, p. 232). Although greatly outnumbered, the Macedonians crushed the Asiatic army and forced the Persians into disgraceful flight. In a few days Alexander was living in the winter palace of Persia in Babylon (§ 165).

441. Alexander's march to Persia: Battle of Arbela (331 B.C.)

As Darius III fled into the eastern mountains he was stabbed by his own treacherous attendants (330 B.C.). Alexander rode up with a few of his officers in time to look upon the body of the last of the Persian emperors, the lord of Asia, whose vast realm had now passed into his hands. He punished the murderers and sent the body with all respect to the fallen ruler's mother and sister, to whom he had extended protection and hospitality. Thus at last both the valley of the Nile and the Fertile Crescent, the homes of the earliest two civilizations, were now in the hands of a European power and under the control of a newer and higher civilization. Less than five years had passed since the young Macedonian had entered Asia.

442. Death of Darius III (330 B.C.); Alexander lord of the ancient East

Alexander continued his eastward march through the original little kingdom of the Persian kings, whence Cyrus, the founder of the Persian Empire, had victoriously come forth over two hundred years before (see § 153). He stopped at Susa and then passed on to visit the tomb of Cyrus near Persepolis.

443. Alexander captures the Persian royal cities

In the course of the next five years, while the Greek world looked on in amazement, the young Macedonian seemed to disappear in the mists on the far-off eastern fringes of the known world. He marched his army in one vast loop after another through the heart of the Iranian plateau (see map, p. 232), northward across the Oxus and the Jaxartes rivers, southward across the Indus and the frontiers of India, into the valley of the Ganges, where at last the complaints of his weary troops forced him to turn back.

444. Alexander's campaigns in the Far East (330–324 B.C.)

445. Alexander returns to Babylon (323 B.C.); some results of his Eastern campaigns

He descended the Indus, and even sailed the waters of the Indian Ocean. Then he began his westward march again along the shores of the Indian Ocean, accompanied by a fleet which he had built on the Indus. The return march through desert wastes cost many lives as the thirsty and ill-provisioned troops dropped by the way. Over seven years after he had left the great city of Babylon, Alexander entered it again. He had been less than twelve years in Asia, and he had carried Greek civilization into the very heart of the continent. At important points along his line of march he had founded Greek cities bearing his name and had set up kingdoms which were to be centers of Greek influence on the frontiers of India. Never before had East and West so interpenetrated as in these amazing marches and campaigns of Alexander.

Section 47. International Policy of Alexander: its Personal Consequences

446. Alexander's scientific enterprises

During all these marvelous achievements the mind of this young Hercules never ceased to busy itself with a thousand problems on every side. He dispatched an exploring expedition up the Nile to ascertain the causes of the annual overflow of the river. He sent another to the shores of the Caspian Sea to build a fleet and circumnavigate that sea, the northern end of which was still unexplored. He brought a number of scientific men with him from Greece, and with their aid he sent hundreds of natural-history specimens home to Greece to his old teacher Aristotle, then teaching in Athens.

447. His endeavor to merge European and Asiatic civilization

Meantime he applied himself constantly to the organization and administration of his vast conquests. He believed in the power and superiority of Greek culture. He was determined to Hellenize the world and to unite Asia with Europe by transplanting colonies of Greeks and Macedonians. On the other hand, he also felt that he could not rule the world as a Macedonian, but must make concessions to the Persian world

Longitude
15°
20°
25°
30°
35°
40°
ILLYRIA
Danube
Brundisium
MACEDONIA
THRACE
BALKAN MTS.
BLACK SEA
CAUCASUS
Byzantium
Bosporus
Heraclea
Halys R.
Trapezus
PAPHLAGONIA
Gordium
Ancyra
MYSIA
Sardis
LYDIA
PHRYGIA
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
Sparta
Athens
CARIA
LYCIA
PISIDIA
CILICIA
Issus
Gaugamela
Crete
Rhodes
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Cyprus
MESOPOTAMIA
Arbela
Tigris
Cyrene
Byblos
Euphrates
Tyre
Damascus
Alexandria
Samaria
Jerusalem
Babylon
Naucratis
SAHARA DESERT
Oasis of Siwa (Ammonium)
Memphis
Sinai
Nile
EGYPT
Red Sea
ARABIA
Thebes
Syene
Elephantine
First Cataract
ALEXANDRIA
Statute Miles
0 1/2 1 2
1. Royal War Harbor
2. Theater
3. Inner Royal Castle
4. Museum and Library
5. Mausoleum
6. Gymnasium
Pharos L. H.
Great Harbor
Royal Palace
Cape Lochias
Barracks
Jewish Quarter
Pharos
Timonium
Royal Mole
Harbor of Eunostos
Necropolis
Lake Mareotis
EMPIRE
ALEXANDER T
Empire of Ale
States subject
States indepe
Marches of Al
Voyage of Ne
Scale of Stat
0 100 200
35

50° from 55° Greenwich 60° 65° 70° 75° 80°
45°
40°
35°
30°
25°
20°
15°
ASIATIC STEPPE
CASPIAN SEA
TOKHARISTAN
Jaxartes
Oxus
SOGDIANA
BACTRIANA
PARTHIANS
(PARTHYENE)
ARIA
batana
PLATEAU
DRANGIANA
ARACHOSIA
Indus
PERSIA
Pasargadæ
Persepolis
CARMANIA
GADROSIA
Persian Gulf
Tropic of Cancer
INDIAN OCEAN
EAT
reat
nder
55°
60°
REDFIELD-KENDRICK-ODELL CO., N.Y.

(see Plate, p. 244). He therefore appointed Persians to high offices and set them over provinces as satraps. He even adopted Persian raiment in part. Finally he married Roxana, an Asiatic princess, and at a gorgeous wedding festival he obliged his officers and friends also to marry the daughters of Asiatic nobles.

448. Alexander makes plans for the conquest of the western Mediterranean

In the midst of all this he carefully worked out a plan of campaign for the conquest of the *western* Mediterranean. The plan included instructions for the building of a fleet of a thousand battleships with which to subdue Italy, Sicily, and Carthage. It also included the construction of a vast roadway along the northern coast of Africa, to be built at enormous expense, to furnish a highway for his army from Egypt to Carthage and the Atlantic.

449. Deification of Alexander and its logical necessity

What was to be his own position in this colossal world-state of which he dreamed? Many a great Greek had come to be recognized as a god, and there was in Greek belief no sharp line dividing gods from men. The will of a god (in so far as a Greek might believe in him at all) was still a thing to which he bowed without question and with no feeling that he was being subjected to tyranny. Alexander found in this attitude of the Greek mind the solution of the question of his own position. He would have himself lifted to a place among the gods. As a god he might impose his will upon the Greek cities without offense. This solution was the more easy because it had for ages been customary to regard the king as divine in Egypt, where he was a son of the Sun-god, and the idea was a common one in the Orient.

450. Alexander's visit to Siwa — the desert shrine of Amon

In Egypt therefore, seven years before, he had deliberately taken the time, although a still unconquered Persian army was awaiting him in Asia, to march with a small following far out into the Sahara Desert to the Oasis of Siwa, where there was a famous shrine of Amon. The oracles of Amon at Siwa enjoyed the respect of the whole Greek world. Here in the vast solitude (Fig. 92) Alexander entered the holy place alone.

No one knew what took place there; but when he came out again he was greeted by the high priest of the temple as the son of the god Amon. Alexander took good care that all Greece should hear of this remarkable occurrence, but the Hellenes had to wait some years before they learned what it all meant.

FIG. 92. OASIS OF SIWA IN THE SAHARA

In this oasis was the famous temple of the Egyptian god Amon (or Ammon), who delivered oracles greatly prized by the Greeks. Alexander marched hither from the coast, a distance of some two hundred miles, and thence back to the Nile at Memphis, some three hundred and fifty miles (see map, p. 232). A modern caravan requires twenty-one days to go from the Nile to this oasis. Such an oasis is a deep depression in the desert plateau; the level of the plateau is seen at the top of the cliffs on the right. Its fertility is due to many springs and flowing wells

451. Alexander demands his deification by the Greek cities of the dissolved league

Four years later the young king found that this divinity which he claimed lacked outward and visible signs. He adopted oriental usages, among which was the requirement that all who approached him on official occasions should bow down to the earth and kiss his feet. He also sent formal notification to all the Greek cities that the league of which he had been head was disbanded, that he was henceforth to be officially numbered among the gods of each city, and that as such he was to receive

the State offerings which each city presented. Thus were introduced into Europe absolute monarchy and the divine right of kings.

452. Personal consequences suffered by Alexander as a result of his deification and international policy

This superhuman station of the world-king Alexander was gained at tragic cost to Alexander the Macedonian youth and to the group of friends and followers about him. They could not comprehend the necessity for measures which thus strained or snapped entirely those bonds of friendship which linked together comrades in arms. And then there were the Persian intruders, given high offices and treated like the equals of his personal friends (see Plate, p. 244), or even placed over them! The tragic consequences of such a situation were inevitable.

453. Execution of Philotas, Parmenio, and their friends

Early in those tremendous marches eastward, after Darius's death, Philotas, son of Parmenio, had learned of a conspiracy against Alexander's life, but his bitterness and estrangement were such that he failed to report his guilty knowledge to the king. The conspirators were discovered but were all given a fair and legal trial, and Alexander suffered the bitterness of seeing a whole group of his former friends and companions, including Philotas, condemned and executed in the presence of the army. The trusted Parmenio, father of Philotas, was also implicated and suffered death. This was but the beginning of the ordeal through which the *man* Alexander was to pass, in order that the *world-king* Alexander might mount the throne of a god.

454. Alexander slays his friend Clitus; execution of Callisthenes

Clitus also, who had saved his life at the Granicus, was filled with grief and indignation at Alexander's political course. At a royal feast, where these matters came up in conversation, Clitus was guilty of unguarded criticisms of his lord and then, entirely losing his self-mastery, he finally heaped such unbridled reproaches upon the king that Alexander, rising in uncontrollable rage, seized a spear from a guard and thrust it through the bosom of the man to whom he owed his life. As we see the young king thereupon sitting for three days in his tent,

speechless with grief and remorse, refusing all food, and prevented only by his officers from taking his own life, we gather some slight impression of the terrible personal cost of Alexander's state policy. Similar differences caused the execution of Alexander's friend the historian Callisthenes. He was a nephew of the king's old teacher, Aristotle, and thus the friendship between master and royal pupil was transformed into bitter enmity.

455. Death of Alexander (323 B.C.)

On his return to Babylon, Alexander was overcome with grief at the loss of his dearest friend Hephæstion, who had just died. He arranged for his dead friend one of the most magnificent funerals ever celebrated. Then, as he was preparing for a campaign to subjugate the Arabian peninsula and leave him free to carry out his great plans for the conquest of the western Mediterranean, Alexander himself fell sick, probably as the result of a drunken debauch, and after a few days he died (323 B.C.). He was thirty-three years of age and had reigned thirteen years.

Section 48. The Heirs of Alexander's Empire

456. Consequences of Alexander's death

Alexander has been well termed "the Great." Few men of genius, and certainly none in so brief a career, have left so indelible a mark upon the course of human affairs. By his remarkable conquests he gave to the Greeks that *political* leadership which the triumph of their *civilization* had never before gained for them. His death in the midst of his colossal designs was a fearful calamity, for it made impossible forever the unification of Hellas and of the civilized world of that day by the power of that gifted race which was then civilizing the world.

All the leading members of Alexander's family, even including his mother, were swept away in the conflicts among his successors. These able Macedonian commanders were soon involved among themselves in a long and tremendous struggle,

which often subsided only to break out anew. After a generation of exhausting wars by land and sea, Alexander's empire fell into three main parts, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, with one of his generals or one of their successors at the head of each. In Europe, Macedonia was in the hands of Antigonus, grandson of Alexander's great commander of the same name. He endeavored also to maintain control of Greece. In Asia most of the territory of the former Persian Empire was under the rule of Alexander's general, Seleucus; while in Africa, Egypt was held by Ptolemy, one of the cleverest of Alexander's Macedonian leaders.

457. The successors of Alexander; their three realms in Europe, Asia, and Africa

In Egypt, Ptolemy gradually made himself king and became the founder of a dynasty or family of successive kings, whom we call the Ptolemies. Ptolemy at once saw that he would be constantly obliged to draw Greek mercenary troops from Greece. With statesmanlike judgment he therefore built up a fleet which gave him the mastery of the Mediterranean. He took up his residence at the great harbor city of Alexandria, the city which Alexander had founded in the western Nile Delta. For nearly a century (roughly the third century B.C.) the eastern Mediterranean from Greece to Syria and from the Ægean to the Nile Delta was an Egyptian sea. As a barrier against their Asiatic rivals, the Ptolemies also took possession of Palestine and southern Syria, just as the English rulers of Egypt have done since 1914. Thus under Macedonian leaders arose an Egyptian empire in the eastern Mediterranean like that which we found nearly a thousand years earlier (§ 74), and the Macedonians ruling on the Nile were continuing an ancient oriental absolute monarchy. The example of this ancient form of state, thus preserved, was of far-reaching influence throughout the Mediterranean world and finally displaced the democracies of the Greeks and Romans.

458. The Egyptian Empire of the Ptolemies

The Seleucids (as we call Seleucus and his descendants) were not as powerful as the Ptolemies. Nevertheless they were the chief heirs of Alexander, for they held the larger part of

459. The Asiatic empire of the Seleucids

his empire, extending at first from the Ægean to the frontiers of India. Its boundaries were not fixed, and its enormous extent made it very difficult to govern and maintain. The fleet of the Ptolemies hampered the commercial development and prosperity of the Seleucids, who therefore found it difficult to reach Greece for trade, troops, or colonists. They gave special attention to the region around the northeast corner of the Mediterranean reaching to the Euphrates, and here the Seleucids endeavored to develop another Macedonia. Their empire is often called *Syria*, after this region. Here on the lower Orontes, Seleucus founded the great city which he called Antioch (after his father, Antiochus). It finally enjoyed great prosperity and became the commercial rival of Alexandria and the greatest seat of commerce in the northern Mediterranean (see map, p. 232).

460. The Macedonian Empire of the Antigonids

Compared with her two great rivals in Egypt and Asia, Macedonia in Europe seemed small indeed. Here the second Antigonus, grandson of Alexander's general, defeated a dangerous invasion of barbarian Gauls in Thrace and drove them out of Macedonia, of which he then became king (277 B.C.). This energetic Antigonus II built a war fleet at vast expense, and in a long naval war with the Ptolemies he twice defeated the Egyptian fleet. As the lax descendants of the earlier Ptolemies did not rebuild the Egyptian fleet, both Macedonia and Asia profited by this freedom of the eastern Mediterranean.

461. Decline of Greece

Greece was no longer commercial leader of the Mediterranean. The victories of Alexander the Great had opened up the vast Persian Empire to Greek commercial colonists, who poured into all the favorable centers of trade. Not only did Greece decline in population, but commercial prosperity and the leadership in trade passed eastward, especially to Alexandria and Antioch. As the Greek cities lost their wealth they could no longer support fleets or mercenary armies, and they soon became too feeble to protect themselves. Although they began to combine in alliances or federations for mutual protection,

they were unable to throw off the Macedonian yoke. In spite of the political feebleness of the Greeks in this age, their civilization now reached its highest level. At this point, therefore, we must again examine the wonderful achievements of Greek civilization.

Section 49. The Civilization of the Hellenistic Age

462. The Hellenistic Age — supremacy of the Greek language

The three centuries following the death of Alexander we call the Hellenistic Age, meaning the period in which Greek civilization spread throughout the ancient world, especially the Orient, and was itself much modified by the culture of the Orient. The Orientals now had Greek-speaking rulers whose government and affairs were carried on in the Greek language.[1] This was the Greek spoken in Attica. The Orientals transacted business with multitudes of Greek merchants; they found many Greek books, attracting them to read. Attic Greek thus gradually became the daily language of the great cities and of an enormous world stretching from Sicily (Fig. 117) and southern Italy eastward on both sides of the Mediterranean and thence far into the Orient.

463. Improved houses and increased luxury

Civilized life in the cities enjoyed more comfort and was better equipped than ever before. The citizen's house (Fig. 93) was more beautifully furnished and decorated (§ 468), and for the first time it now possessed its own water pipes connected with the town water supply (Fig. 94, *C*). The streets also were equipped with drainage channels or pipes, a thing unknown in the days of Pericles.

464. Hellenistic cities and rise of secular public buildings

In the public buildings also a great change had taken place. The architects of the Hellenistic Age began to design the first large and splendid buildings to house the offices of the government. These stately public buildings occupied the center of the

[1] See the Rosetta Stone, *Ancient Times*, Fig. 207 and note, p. 455. For a fuller sketch of Hellenistic civilization see the same book (§§ 727–768).

city, where in early Greek and oriental cities the castle of the king had once stood. Even a small city of only four thousand people, like Priene in Asia Minor, possessed a fine group of such buildings, besides several temples (Fig. 94). On one side of the market there was a new style of business building called a *basilica*, lighted by roof windows, forming a clerestory (Fig. 111, *D*, *E*), such as the Hellenistic architects had seen in Egypt (Fig. 28).[1]

465. Alexandria: its commerce and great lighthouse

In numbers, wealth, commerce, power, and in all the arts of civilization, Alexandria was now the greatest city of the whole ancient world. Along the harbors stretched the extensive Alexandrian docks, where ships which had braved the Atlantic storms off the coasts of Spain and Africa moored beside oriental craft which had penetrated even to the gates of the Indian Ocean and gathered the wares of the vast oriental world beyond. From far across the sea the mariners approaching at night could catch the light of a lofty beacon shining from a gigantic lighthouse tower (Fig. 95) which marked the entrance of the harbor of Alexandria. This wonderful tower, the tallest building ever erected by a Hellenistic engineer, was a descendant of the old Babylonian temple-tower (see *Ancient Times*, p. 170), with which it was closely related.[2]

466. The splendid public buildings of Alexandria

From the deck of a great merchant ship of over four thousand tons the incoming traveler might look cityward past the lighthouse and beyond the great war fleet of the Ptolemies, and see, embowered in the rich green masses of tropical verdure, the magnificent marble buildings of Alexandria: the royal palace, the museum, the gymnasiums, baths, stadiums, assembly hall, concert hall, market places, and basilicas, all surrounded by the residence quarters of the citizens. Unfortunately, not one of the splendid buildings of ancient Alexandria still stands.

[1] A diagram showing the oriental origin of the basilica form will be found in Fig. 123.

[2] The oriental origin of the Alexandrian lighthouse and of our church spires derived from it is shown in Fig. 124.

Even the scanty ruins which survive cannot be recovered, because in most cases the modern city of Alexandria is built over them.

We are more fortunate in the case of Pergamum (map, p. 124), another splendid city of this age which grew up

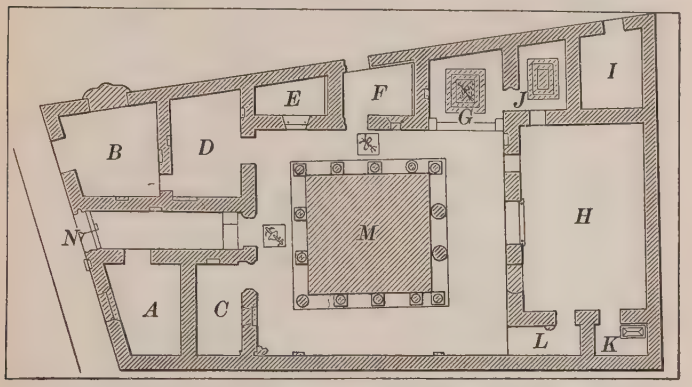


FIG. 93. PLAN OF A HOUSE OF A WEALTHY GREEK IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE

The rooms are arranged around a central court (*M*) which is open to the sky. A roofed porch with columns (called a *peristyle*) surrounds the court (cf. Figs. 21 and 106). The main entrance is at *N*, with the room of the doorkeeper on the right (*A*). At the corner is a shop (*B*). *C*, *D*, and *E* are for storage and housekeeping. *F* is a back-door entry through which supplies were delivered; it contained a stairway to the second floor. *G* was used as a small living room, with an inner living room (*J*) beside it. It had a built-in divan, and the entire side toward the peristyle was open. The finest room in the house was *H*, measuring about sixteen by twenty-six feet, with a mosaic floor (cf. Fig. 91), in seven colors, and richly decorated walls. It was lighted by a large door and two windows, and was accessible also by the passage *L*. *K* was a little bath room, with a large marble bath tub. The sleeping rooms were all on the second floor, which cannot now be reconstructed. *I* was a second tiny shop. This house was excavated by the French on the island of Delos

under Athenian influences (Fig. 96). One of the kings of Pergamum defeated and beat off the hordes of Gauls coming in from Europe (§ 460). This achievement greatly stirred the Attic sculptors who were supported by the kings of Pergamum.

467. Athenian sculpture: Pergamum: the Alexander sarcophagus

They carved heroic marble figures of the Northern barbarians in the tragic moment of death in battle (Fig. 109; see also *Ancient Times*, Figs. 215 and 216). This same struggle with the Gauls was also suggested by an enormous band of relief sculpture depicting the mythical battle between the gods and the giants (Fig. 110). This vast work extended almost entirely around a colossal altar (Fig. 96, *A*) erected by the kings of Pergamum in honor of Zeus, to adorn the market place of the city. Among the best works of the Athenian sculptors of this age were also the reliefs on a wonderful marble sarcophagus, showing the great deeds of Alexander the Great (see Plate, p. 244).

468. Painting and mosaic

The great Greek painters of this age also loved to depict intensely dramatic and tragic incidents. Their original works have all perished, but copies of some of them have survived, painted on the walls as interior decorations of fine houses, or

* This little city when excavated proved to be almost a second Pompeii (Fig. 116), only older. Above *A*, on the top of the cliff, was the citadel with a path leading up to it (*B*). *C* shows the masonry flume which brought the water supply down into the town. Entering the town one passed through the gate at *K*, and up a straight street to the little provision-market square (*L*). Just above the market was the temple of Athena (*I*), built by Alexander himself. Then one entered the spacious business market (*agora*) (*M*), surrounded by fine colonnades, with shops behind them, except on one side (under *N*) where there was a stately hall for business and festive occasions, like the basilica halls which were coming in at this time among the Greeks (§ 464 and Fig. 28). Beyond (at *N*) were the offices of the city government, the hall in which the Council and Assembly met, and the theater (*E*). At *G* was the temple of Isis (§ 700), and in the foreground were the gymnasium (*P*) and the stadium (*Q*). The wash-room here still contains the marble basins and the lion-headed spouts from which the water flowed. An attached open hall was used for school instruction and lectures (§ 477). Above the seats of the stadium (*Q*) was a beautiful colonnade six hundred feet long, for pleasure-strolling between the athletic events, to enjoy the grand view of the sea upon which the audience looked down. The houses fronting directly on the street were mostly like the one in Fig. 93; but the finer ones in the region of the theater (*E*) and the temple of Athena (*I*) were of well-joined stone masonry and had no shops in front. Around the whole city was a strong wall of masonry, with a gate at east (*H*) and west (*K*), while along the street outside these gates were the tombs of the ancestors as at Athens (headpiece, p. 211).

FIG. 94. RESTORATION OF THE HELLENISTIC CITY OF PRIENE IN ASIA MINOR. (AFTER A DRAWING BY A. ZIPPELIUS) *

worked out in mosaic as floor pavement. It is the art of mosaic which has preserved to us the wonderful painting of Alexander charging on the Persian king at Issus, — a work by an unknown Alexandrian painter of the Hellenistic Age (Fig. 91).

469. Mechanical progress and practical inventions; Archimedes

The keen and wide-awake intelligence of this wonderful age was everywhere evident, but especially in the application of science to the work and needs of daily life. It was an age of numerous inventions, like our own; for example, the screw and the cogwheel were now invented. One of the famous feats of the great scientist Archimedes was his arrangement of a series of pulleys and levers, which so multiplied power that the king was able by turning a light crank to move a large three-masted ship standing fully loaded on the dock, and to launch it into the water.

470. Archimedes as a scientist and mathematician

After witnessing such feats as this the people easily believed his proud boast, "Give me a place to stand on and I will move the earth." But Archimedes was far more than an inventor of practical appliances. He was a scientific investigator of the first rank, the discoverer of what science now calls specific gravity. Besides his skill in physics he was also the greatest of ancient mathematicians.

471. The Alexandrian scientists

Although Archimedes lived in Syracuse, he was in close correspondence with his friends in Alexandria, who formed the greatest body of scientists in the ancient world. They lived together at the *Museum*, where they were paid salaries and supported by the Ptolemies. They formed the first scientific institution founded and supported by a government. They became the founders of systematic scientific research, and their books were consulted as containing almost all the scientific knowledge of mankind for nearly two thousand years, until the revival of science in modern times.

472. Mathematics: Euclid and astronomy

The most famous mathematician among them was Euclid. His complete system of geometry was so logically built up that in modern England Euclid's geometry is still retained as a schoolbook — the oldest schoolbook in use to-day. Along with mathematics much progress was also made in astronomy. The

GREEKS AND PERSIANS HUNTING LIONS WITH ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Alexander is out of range at the left. A Greek on horseback endeavors to pierce the wounded lion with his spear. A Persian friend or attendant of Alexander on foot wields an ax. Relief scene on a marble sarcophagus found at Sidon in 1881; the colors are exactly as on the original, now in the Museum at Constantinople. It was made not long after Alexander's death, and is one of the greatest works of Hellenistic art. (After Winter, *Alexandermosaik*)

Ptolemies built an astronomical observatory at Alexandria, and although it was, of course, without telescopes, important observations and discoveries were made. An astronomer of little

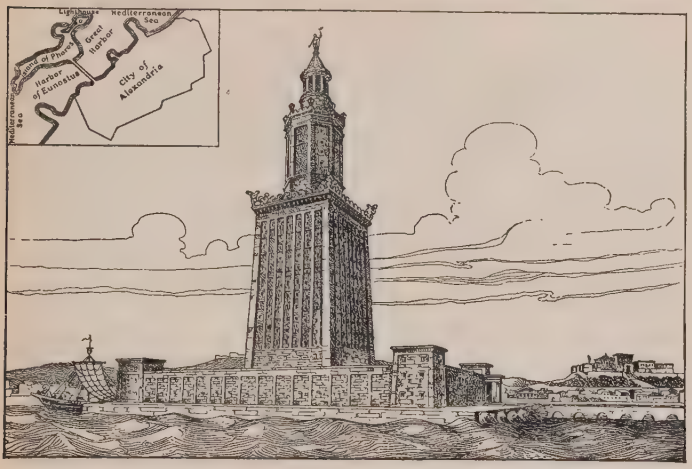


FIG. 95. THE LIGHTHOUSE OF THE HARBOR OF ALEXANDRIA IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE. (AFTER THIERSCH)

The harbor of Alexandria (see map in corner above) was protected by an island called Pharos, which was connected with the city by a causeway of stone. On the island, and bearing its name (Pharos), was built (after 300 B.C.) a vast stone lighthouse, some three hundred and seventy feet high (that is, over thirty stories, like those of a modern skyscraper). It shows how vast were the commerce and wealth of Alexandria only a generation after it was founded by Alexander the Great, when it became the New York or Liverpool of the ancient world, the greatest port on the Mediterranean (§ 465). The Pharos tower, the first of its kind, was influenced in design by oriental architecture, and in its turn it furnished the model for the earliest church spires, and also for the minarets of the Mohammedan mosques (see *Ancient Times*, Fig. 272). It stood for about sixteen hundred years, the greatest lighthouse in the world, and did not fall until A.D. 1326

fame named Aristarchus, who lived on the island of Samos, even discovered that the planets revolve around the sun, though few people would believe him and his discovery was forgotten.

473. Eratosthenes computes the size of the earth and becomes the first scientific geographer

Astronomy had now greatly aided in the progress of geography. Eratosthenes, a great mathematical astronomer of Alexandria, very cleverly computed the approximate size of the earth. Much new information had also been gained regarding the extent and the character of the new regions reached by navigation and exploration in this age from the eastern coast of India to the British Isles. Eratosthenes was therefore able to write a more accurate geography than anyone before his time. It contained the first map bearing a cross-net of lines indicating latitude and longitude. He thus became the founder of scientific geography.

474. Botany, zoölogy, anatomy, and medicine

In the study of animal and vegetable life Aristotle and his pupils were the leaders, and the ancient world never outgrew their observations (§ 479). For the study of anatomy there was a laboratory in Alexandria, at the Museum, which the Ptolemies furnished with condemned criminals, on whom vivisection was practiced. In this way the nerves were discovered to be the lines along which sensations pass to the brain. Such research even came very near to discovering the circulation of the blood. Alexandria became the greatest center of medical research in the ancient world, and here young men studied to be physicians, just as they do at the present day.

475. Alexandrian library; book publishing and the earliest grammars and dictionaries

Besides these natural sciences, there was now also much study of literature. The first library founded and supported by a Greek government had arisen during the childhood of Alexander the Great (not long before 350 B.C.). All such efforts were far surpassed by the Ptolemies at Alexandria, where their library finally contained over half a million rolls. The immense amount of hand copying required to secure good and accurate editions of famous works for this library gradually created the new science of editing and publishing correctly old and often badly copied works.[1] This naturally required much language study, and the Alexandrian scholars then began to write the first grammars and dictionaries.

[1] See a page from the oldest surviving Greek book, *Ancient Times*, Fig. 223.

476. Literature

Literature was to a large extent in the hands of such learned men as those of Alexandria. Forsaking war and tragedy, these scholars loved to picture such scenes as the shepherd at the spring, listening to the music of overhanging boughs, lazily

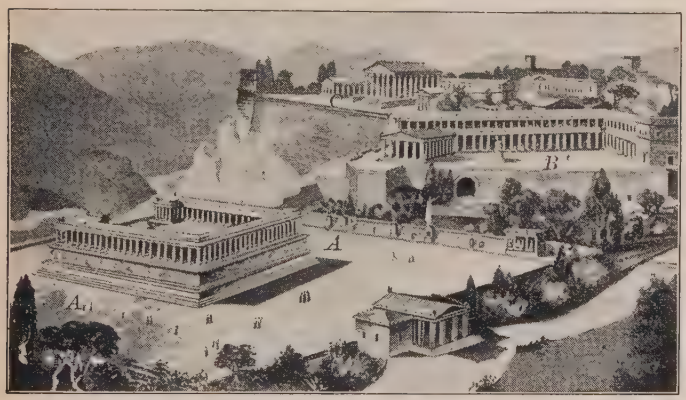


FIG. 96. RESTORATION OF THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS OF PERGAMUM, A HELLENISTIC CITY OF ASIA MINOR. (AFTER THIERSCH)

Pergamum, on the west coast of Asia Minor (see map, p. 124), became a flourishing city-kingdom in the third century B.C. under the successors of Alexander the Great (§ 456). The dwellings of the citizens were all lower down, in front of the group of buildings shown here. These public buildings stand on three terraces — lower, middle, and upper. The large *lower* terrace (*A*) was the main market place, adorned with a vast square marble altar of Zeus, having colonnades on three sides, beneath which was a long sculptured band (frieze) of warring gods and giants (Fig. 110). On the *middle* terrace (*B*), behind the colonnades, was the famous library of Pergamum, where the stone bases of library shelves still survive. The *upper* terrace (*C*) once contained the palace of the king; the temple now there was built by the Roman Emperor Trajan in the second century of the Christian era

watching his flocks, and dreaming the while of some winsome village maid who has scorned his devotion. In such verse the greatest literary artist of the age was a Sicilian named Theocritus, whose idyls have taken a permanent place in the world's literature for two thousand years.

477. Education: elementary schools and gymnasiums

In such a cultivated world education had made much progress. The elementary schools, once *private*, were now often *supported by the State.* When the lad had finished at the elementary school, his father allowed him to attend lectures on rhetoric, science, philosophy, and mathematics in the lecture rooms of the gymnasium building (Fig. 94, *P*). Such an atmosphere was one to create great interest in science and philosophy, and often a youth besought his father to give him a few years' higher study at the Museum or at Athens.

478. The Alexandrian Museum as a university

In the pursuit of a profession, a special training had now become indispensable to a young man's success. As the student strolled for the first time through the beautiful royal gardens of Alexandria and into the Museum building, he found going on there lectures on astronomy, geography, physics, mathematics, botany, zoölogy, anatomy, medicine, or rhetoric, grammar, and literature. On the other hand, Alexandria was not at first interested in philosophy, out of which science had grown (§ 306).

479. The Academy and the Peripatetic School at Athens: Aristotle

Athens was still the leading home of philosophy. The youth who went there to take up philosophical studies found the successors of Plato still continuing his teaching in the quiet grove of the Academy (§ 352), where his memory was greatly revered. Plato's pupil Aristotle, after having been the teacher of the young Alexander (§ 432), had returned to Athens and he also had established at the Lyceum (§ 352) a school of his own known as the Peripatetic School, because it occupied a terrace called the "Walk" (Greek *peripatos*). With the help of groups of his more advanced students Aristotle put together a veritable encyclopedia of old and new facts in the different natural sciences, besides writing many treatises on other subjects, like logic, government, etc. The work was never completed, and many of the essays and treatises which it included have been lost. When Aristotle died, soon after the death of Alexander, his school declined. Aristotle's works formed the greatest attempt ever made in ancient times to collect and to state in a clear way the

whole mass of human knowledge. The writings of no other man have ever enjoyed such widespread and unquestioned authority.[1]

480. Two philosophies of practical living: Stoicism and Epicureanism

But many Greeks desired some teaching which would lead them to a happy and contented frame of mind and guide men in their attempts to live successfully. To meet this desire two more schools of philosophy arose at Athens. The first, the *Stoic* School, taught that the great aim of life should be a fortitude of soul, which comes from virtue, and is indifferent both to pleasure and to pain. Its followers were famous for their fortitude, and hence our common use of the word "stoicism" to indicate indifference to suffering. The Stoic School was very popular and finally became the greatest of the schools of philosophy. The *Epicurean* School, the last school, founded by Epicurus in his own garden at Athens, taught that the highest good was pleasure, both of body and of mind, but always in accordance with virtue. Hence we still call a man devoted to pleasure, especially in eating, an "epicure." The school of Epicurus, too, flourished and attracted many disciples.

481. The University of Athens and its historic influence

These schools lived on the income of property left them by wealthy pupils and friends. We may regard Hellenistic Athens then (with its Academy, Lyceum, Stoic School, and Epicurean School) as possessing a university made up of four colleges, like an English university. The Museum of Alexandria was modeled on these Athenian organizations, and they have also become the model for academies of science and for universities ever since.

482. The fall of the old Greek gods

For highly educated men the beliefs of Stoicism or Epicureanism served as their religion. Such men usually no longer believed in the gods. There was complete freedom of conscience — far more freedom than the Christian rulers of later Europe granted their subjects. The teachings of Socrates would no longer have caused his condemnation by his Athenian neighbors.

[1] See *Outlines of European History*, Part I, p. 547.

483. Increased popularity of oriental gods

The great multitude of the common people had not the education to understand philosophy, nor the means to attend the philosophical schools. Yet gods in some form they must have. With the weakening of their faith in the old Greek gods, many Greeks adopted the gods of the Orient, and these gods became more and more popular. Oriental beliefs and oriental symbols were everywhere. It was in an age like this that Christianity, an oriental religion, later passed easily from land to land (§ 706).

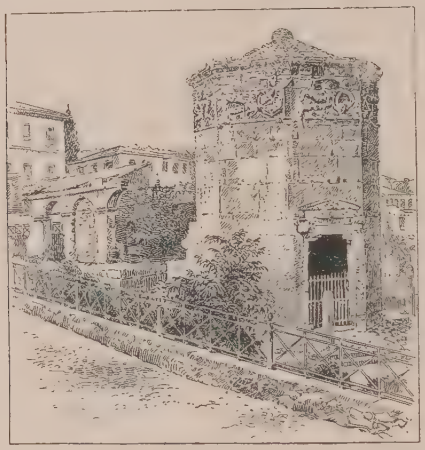


FIG. 97. THE TOWN CLOCK OF ATHENS IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE

This tower, commonly called the "Tower of the Winds," now stands among modern houses but once looked out on the Athenian market place. The arches at the left support part of an ancient channel which supplied the water for the operation of a water clock in the tower. Such clocks were something like hourglasses, the flowing water filling a given measure in a given time, like the sand in the hourglass. This tower was built in the last century B.C., when Athens was under the control of Rome

484. Rise of an Hellenic-oriental world of the eastern Mediterranean

As in earlier times (§ 199), the daily life and the civilization of the people of the Orient continued to be a permanent force exerting a steady pressure upon the life of the eastern Mediterranean world, in commerce, in form of government, in customs and usages, in art, industry, literature, and religion. Thus while Greek civilization, with its language, its art, its literature, its theaters and gymnasiums, was *Hellenizing the Orient*, the Orient in the same way was *orientalizing the eastern Mediterranean world*. In this way there was

gradually formed an eastern Mediterranean world of mixed Hellenic-oriental civilization.

485. Lack of *national* citizenship in the Hellenistic empires

In this larger world the old Greek *city*-citizen, who had made Greek civilization what it was, played but a small part. The city-citizen had no share in guiding the affairs of the great nation or empire of which his city-state was a part. It was as if a citizen of Chicago might vote at the election of a mayor of his own city but had no right to vote at the election of a president of the United States. There was not even a name for the empire of the Seleucids, and their subjects, wherever they went, bore the names of their home cities or countries.[1] The conception of "native land" in the national sense was wanting, and patriotism did not exist.

486. The contributions of the city-state and the end of its usefulness

The centers of power and of progress in Greek civilization had been the *city-states*, but the finest forces created within the city-state had now disappeared. So, for example, the old city gods were gone. Likewise the *citizen*-soldier who once defended his city had long ago given way, even in Greece, to the *professional* soldier who came from abroad and fought for hire (§ 398). In the same way the citizen found the holding of city offices becoming a profession (§ 397). He therefore lost his interest in the State, and he turned to his own personal affairs. The Greek city-states, *in competition among themselves*, had developed the highest type of civilization which the world had ever seen, but in this process the city-states themselves had politically perished. In many Greek cities only a discouraged remnant of the citizens was left after the emigration to Asia (§ 461). The cattle often browsed on the grass in the public square before the town hall in such cities of the Greeks.

In short a larger world had swallowed up the old Greek city-states. But this Hellenistic world of the *eastern* Mediterranean had by 200 B.C. reached a point in its own wars and rivalries when it was to feel the iron hand of a great new military power

[1] It was as if the citizens of the United States were termed Bostonians, New Yorkers, Philadelphians, Chicagoans, etc.

487. Hellenistic world of the *eastern* Mediterranean threatened by the power of the *western* Mediterranean

from the distant world of the *western* Mediterranean. At this point, therefore (200 B.C.), we shall be unable to understand the further story of the eastern Mediterranean, until we have turned back and taken up the career of the western Mediterranean world. There in the West for some three centuries the city of Rome had been developing a power which was to unite both the East and the West into a vast empire including the *whole Mediterranean.*

QUESTIONS

SECTION 45. Describe the new military arrangements of Philip of Macedon. What two parties arose at Athens? What was the result of the struggle between Philip and the Greeks? Who succeeded Philip and how was he educated?

SECTION 46. How did Alexander deal with the Greeks? What great war did he then begin? Describe it until his arrival at the Gulf of Issus. What happened there? How was the danger from the Phœnician fleet met? What ancient land was thus conquered?

To what country did Alexander then march? What became of the Persian king after the Battle of Arbela? What was the result? What cities did Alexander then capture? What marches did he then undertake? How did he establish Greek influences in the lands he traversed?

SECTION 47. Discuss Alexander's scientific interests. What was his policy regarding the relations of Asia and Europe? What further conquests did he plan? What was to be his own position as ruler? How did he endeavor to secure divine honors? How did this affect his friends? What happened to Parmenio and Philotas? to Clitus and Callisthenes? How did all this affect Alexander? What happened on his return to Babylon? What is the date of his death?

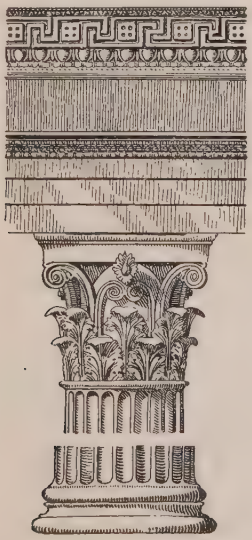
SECTION 48. Discuss the consequences of Alexander's death. What did his generals do? What three empires resulted? Discuss the empire of the Ptolemies; the empire of the Seleucids; the empire of the Antigonids. How did the fall of the Persian Empire affect Greece? How did the rise of Alexandria and Antioch affect Greek commerce? What were the consequences in Greece?

SECTION 49. What is meant by the term "Hellenistic Age"? What improvements in houses appeared? What new kind of public buildings arose? Make a plan of Priene, placing the most important

buildings (Fig. 94). Describe Alexandria; Pergamum and its sculpture; painting and mosaic. What can you say of inventive ability in the Hellenistic Age? Tell about Archimedes. What place do the Alexandrian scientists occupy in the history of science?

Discuss Alexandrian publishing and its influence; literature and education. What schools of philosophy arose? What happened to old Greek religion? Describe the civilization of the eastern Mediterranean world. What had happened to citizenship and the city-state? What power was now about to lead?

NOTE. The tailpiece below represents a Corinthian column of which the shaft has been cut out in the drawing between the base and the capital to save space. Like the capitals of Egypt (Fig. 21), this one represents a plant, the leaves of the *acanthus*, alternating in two rows around the capital and crowned by volutes rising to the four corners of a flat block upon which the supported stone above rests. These columns came in early in the Hellenistic Age (for example, Fig. 88) and are still widely used in modern buildings.



BOOK IV. THE ROMANS

CHAPTER XIV

THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN WORLD AND THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF ITALY

Section 50. The Western Mediterranean World

488. The Mediterranean and its shore lands the great stage of ancient history

The Mediterranean Sea is a very large body of water, almost as long as Europe itself. Its length is about twenty-four hundred miles, and laid out across the United States it would reach from New York over into California. The stage of ancient history was, to a large extent, the Mediterranean and its shores.

Note. The above headpiece shows an ancient bronze wolf (sixth century B.C.), wrought by Greek artists in Italy (§ 258), and illustrates the influence of Greek civilization in Rome even before 500 B.C. The two infants nourished by the she-wolf are later additions, put there in accordance with the tradition at Rome that the city was founded by these twin brothers, named Romulus and Remus. Their ancestor, so said the tradition, was Æneas (§ 655), one of the Trojan heroes, who had fled from Troy after its destruction (§ 215), and after many adventures had arrived in Italy. His son founded and became king of Alba Longa (§ 497). In the midst of a family feud among his descendants, these twin boys, the sons of the War-god, Mars, were born, and after they had been set adrift in the Tiber by the ruling king, they gently ran aground at the base of the Palatine Hill, where a she-wolf found and nourished them. When they grew up they returned home to Alba Longa, claimed their rights, and eventually founded Rome. Similar legends formed all that the Romans knew of their early history through the period of the kings and far down into the Republic.

Now the Mediterranean is not a single compact body of water, like one of our Great Lakes. A land bridge made up of Italy and Sicily extends almost across this great sea and divides it into two parts, an eastern and a western basin. There are no accepted geographical names for these two basins, but we may call them, for convenience, the eastern and western Mediterranean worlds. Since we left prehistoric

489. Division of the Mediterranean into an eastern and a western basin

THE FOUR RIVAL PEOPLES OF THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN: ETRUSCANS, ITALIC TRIBES, GREEKS, AND CARTHAGINIANS

Europe (Chapter I), we have been following the story of civilized men in the *eastern* Mediterranean world; we must now turn back and take up the story of the *western* Mediterranean world also.

490. Italy: its geography and climate

The most important land in the western Mediterranean world in early times was Italy. It slopes westward in the main; it thus faces and belongs to the western Mediterranean world. The Italian peninsula, thrusting far out into the sea (see map, p. 256), is nearly six hundred miles long; that is, about half

again as long as the peninsula of Florida. Italy[1] is not only much larger than Greece, but, unlike Greece, it is not cut up by a tangle of mountains into winding valleys and tiny plains. The main chain of the Apennines, though crossing the peninsula obliquely in the north, is nearly parallel with the coasts, and many of its outlying ridges are quite so. There are larger plains for the cultivation of grain than we find anywhere in Greece; and there is also much more room for upland pasturage of flocks and herds. A considerably larger population can be supported in the plains of Italy than in Greece. At the same time the coast is not so cut up and indented as in Greece; there are fewer good harbors. Hence agriculture and live stock developed much earlier than sea trade.

491. Western wing of the Indo-Europeans enters Italy

The tribes forming the western end of the Indo-European migration (Fig. 48) early began to feel the attractiveness of the warm and verdant hills of Italy. Probably not long after the Greeks had pushed southward into the Greek peninsula (§ 210), the western tribes of Indo-European blood had entered the Italian peninsula. The most important group, which settled in the central and southern parts of the peninsula, was the Italic tribes, the earliest Italians. Probably within a few centuries they had also overflowed into Sicily.

492. Uncivilized state of Italy and the West

We remember that the Greeks, in conquering the Ægean, took possession of a highly civilized region on the borders of the Orient. This was not the case with the Indo-European invaders of Italy. They found the western Mediterranean world still without civilization. It had no architecture, no fine buildings, no fortified cities, only the rudest arts and industries, no writing, and no literature.

Besides the Italic invaders there were in the western Mediterranean world three more rival peoples, all of whom came from the *eastern* Mediterranean world. The *first* of these was a

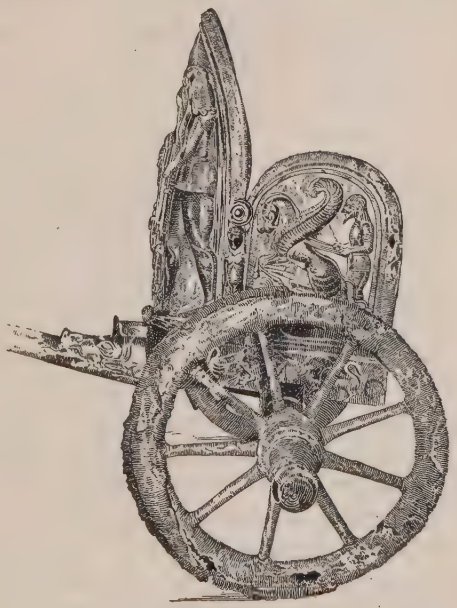
[1] The area of the Italian Peninsula is about 91,000 square miles, about as large as Illinois and Indiana combined. The adjacent islands add nearly 20,000 square miles more.

ITALY
AND ADJACENT LANDS
before
THE SUPREMACY OF ROME
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 100 150
Etruscans
Italians
Carthaginians
Gaul, Liguria, Apulia and Calabria
Greek Colonies are indicated by underlining names in blue
8° 10° 12° 14° 16° 18°
46° 44° 42°
ALPS
Ticinus R.
Mt. Cenis
Milan
Aquileia
Venice
CISALPINE GAUL
REGION OF PO VILLAGES
Po R.
Genoa
APENNINE MTS.
Rubicon R.
Ariminum
Metaurus R.
Ancona
Sentinum
Arnus R.
Pisa
Florence
Tiber R.
Lake Trasimene
UMBRIA
PICENUM
Asculum
Clusium
ETRURIA
ETRUSCANS
CORSICA
Veii
Æquians
Tibur
Cære
Rome
Prænestе
Alban Mt.
Tiber R.
Sabines
ILLYRIA
ADRIATIC SEA

SARDINIA
ETRUSCAN OR TYRRHENIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Cumæ
Capri
Misenum
Bay of Naples
Pompeii
Vesuvius
CAMPANIA
APPIAN WAY
Tarentum
APPIAN WAY
Brundisium
CALABRIA
Poseidonia or Pæstum
LUCANIA
Metapontum
Heraclea
GULF OF TARENTUM
GREAT GREECE
Croton
Lacinian Cape
Locri
Rhegium
Messina
Strait of Messina
Taormina
Mt. Ætna
Segesta
SICILY
Henna
Catana
Agrigentum
Syracuse
Utica
Carthage
Hippo
AFRICA
Zama
40°
38°
36°
8°
10°
12°
14°
16°
Longitude East from Greenwich
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO

bold race of sea rovers whom we call the Etruscans. Their origin is still uncertain, but they probably had an earlier home in western Asia Minor. In any case the Etruscans had landed in Italy and were settled there by 1000 B.C. They finally gained full control of the west coast of Italy from the Bay of Naples almost to Genoa, including much of the inland country (see map, p. 256). They seemed destined to become the final lords of Italy, and they continued as an important people of the West far down into Roman history, as we shall see.

493. The three Western rivals confronting the Italic tribes: first, the Etruscans



494. Second, the Carthaginians

FIG. 98. ETRUSCAN CHARIOT OF BRONZE

This magnificent work shows the ability of the Etruscans in the art of bronze-working (§ 500). The chariot was found in an Etruscan tomb in Italy; it is of full size and now belongs to the Metropolitan Museum of New York City

The Carthaginians were the *second* of the three rivals of the Italic tribes. We remember how the Phœnicians carried their commerce far into the western Mediterranean after 1000 B.C. (§ 227). On the African coast opposite Sicily they established a flourishing commercial city called Carthage. It soon became the leading harbor in the western Mediterranean. The Carthaginians finally held the northern coast of Africa westward to the Atlantic. Besides gaining

southern Spain, they were also conquering the islands of the western Mediterranean, especially Sicily.

495. Third, the Greeks

While the Carthaginians were endeavoring to make the western Mediterranean their own, the Italic peoples saw their *third* rivals invading the West. They were the Greeks. We have already followed the Greek colonies as they founded their city-states along the coast of southern Italy and in Sicily in the eighth century B.C. (§§ 257–259). The strongest of all the western Greek cities was Syracuse, which took the lead more than once. We recall how the Athenians tried to conquer the West by capturing Syracuse (§§ 386–390).

496. Western Greek colonies bring civilization into the western Mediterranean world

Although the western Greeks, like the homeland, fought among themselves and failed to unite in a strong and permanent state, they brought the first civilization to Italy (§ 258). In their wonderful buildings, great architecture made its first appearance in the western Mediterranean. The same was true of many other contributions of Greek culture with which we are now familiar. Thus fifteen hundred years after the Italic tribes had first settled in Italy, there grew up on the south of them a wonderful world of Greek civilization, which went on growing and developing to reach its highest in that Hellenistic culture which brought forth an Archimedes at Syracuse (§ 470). Let us now turn back to follow the career of the barbarous Italic tribes of central Italy under the leadership of Rome, and watch them slowly gaining organization and power, and finally civilization, as they were influenced first by the Etruscans on their *north*, and then by the Greeks on the *south* of them.

Section 51. Earliest Rome

497. The tribes of Latium, and Alba Longa the leading Latin town

On the south or east bank of the Tiber, which flows into the sea in the middle of the west coast of Italy (see map, p. 256), there was a group of Italic tribes known as the Latins. In the days when the Etruscan sea raiders first landed on the shores north of the Tiber, these Latin tribes had occupied a plain

(Fig. 99) less than thirty by forty miles;[1] that is, smaller than many an American county. They called it "Latium," whence their own name, "Latins." Like their Italic neighbors they lived, scattered in small communities, cultivating grain and pasturing flocks on the upland. Their land was not very fertile, and the struggle for existence developed a strong and hardy

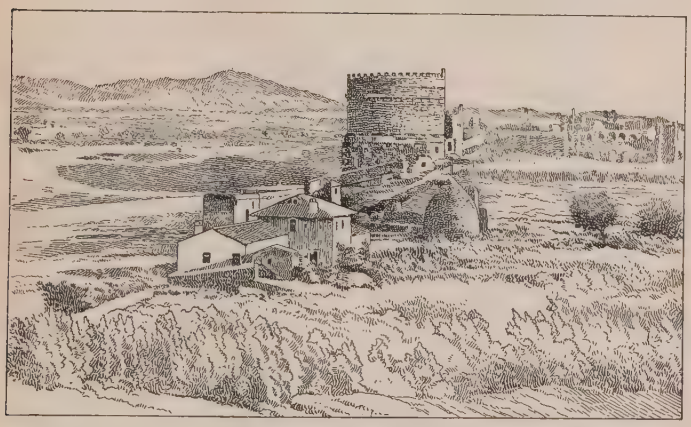


FIG. 99. A GLIMPSE ACROSS THE PLAIN OF LATIUM AND THE APPIAN WAY TO THE DISTANT ALBAN MOUNTAINS

In the foreground is a short stretch of the Appian Way, the earliest fine road built by the Romans. It extended from Rome southward to Capua, and was finally extended to Brundisium. The large round tower is a famous tomb, built for a noble Roman lady named Cecilia Metella

people. Their center was a small town called Alba Longa, whose leadership the Latin tribes followed when they were obliged, as they very often were, to unite and repel the attacks of their hostile neighbors on all sides. They watched very anxiously the growth of the flourishing Etruscan towns on the other (north) side of the Tiber, and they did what they could to keep the Etruscans from crossing to the Latin side.

[1] Latium probably contained something over seven hundred square miles.

498. The emergence of early Rome

When these Latin peasants needed weapons or tools, they were obliged to carry up a little grain or an ox to a trading post on the south side of the Tiber. Just above the coast marshes, which extended some ten or twelve miles inland from the mouth of the Tiber, there was an island (Fig. 100) and an easy ford across the river. Several neighboring hills bore straggling villages, and a stronghold on a hill called the Palatine was

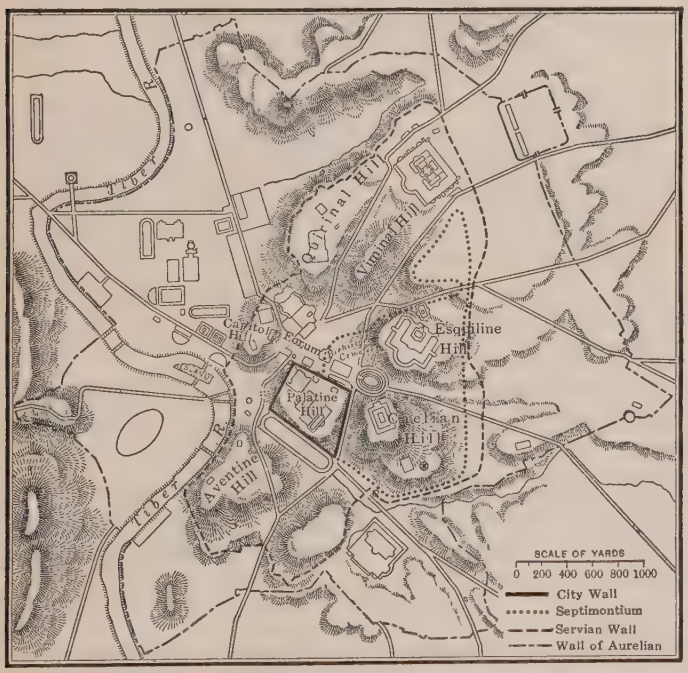
FIG. 100. THE TIBER AND ITS ISLAND AT ROME

The Tiber is not a large river, but when swollen by the spring freshets it still sometimes floods a large portion of Rome, doing serious damage. The houses which we see on the island are some of them old, but not as old as the ancient Rome we are to study. The bridges, however, are very old. The one on the right of the island was built of massive stone masonry in 62 B.C. It has been standing for over two thousand years. Many great Romans, like Julius Cæsar, whose names are familiar to us, must have crossed this bridge often

their leader. Here, stopped by the shoals, moored now and then an Etruscan ship which had sailed up the Tiber, the only navigable river in Italy. On the low marshy ground, encircled by the hills, was an open-air market, which they called the Forum, where the Latin peasants could meet the Etruscan traders and exchange grain or oxen for the metal tools or weapons they needed. Such must have been the condition of the group of villages called Rome probably as early as 1000 B.C.

The Etruscan invasion which the Latin tribes feared finally took place. Perhaps as early as 750 B.C. one of the Etruscan princes crossed the Tiber, drove out the last of the line of Latin chieftains, and took possession of the stronghold on the Palatine. From this place as his castle and palace he gained control

499. Rome seized by Etruscans (about 750 B.C.)



MAP OF EARLY ROME SHOWING THE SUCCESSIVE STAGES OF ITS GROWTH

of the villages on the hills above the Tiber, which then gradually merged into the city of Rome. These Etruscan kings soon extended their power over the Latin tribes of the plain of Latium. The town of Alba Longa, which once led the Latins, disappeared. Thus Rome became a city-kingdom under an Etruscan king, like the other Etruscan cities which stretched

from Capua far north to the harbor of Genoa (see map, p. 256). Although Rome was then ruled by a line of Etruscan kings for probably two centuries and a half, it must be borne in mind that the population of Latium which the Etruscan kings governed continued to be Latin and to speak the Latin tongue.

500. Etruscans receive Greek civilization

Etruscan ships had been trafficking in the Greek harbors since Mycenæan days. There they later learned to write their own language with Greek letters. Many tombs containing their inscriptions still survive in Italy. Although we know the letters and can pronounce the Etruscan words, scholars are still unable to understand them. This intercourse with Greece also brought in many other products of Greek civilization, like the beautiful Greek vases (Fig. 70), until the Etruscans adopted much Greek civilization. They early produced such fine work in bronze (Fig. 98) that it even excelled the metal work of the Greeks for a time, and they developed a flourishing commerce in this industry.

501. Rule of the Etruscan kings of Rome and their expulsion (about 500 B.C.)

The Etruscan kings introduced great improvements into Rome. But the cruelty and tyranny of the Etruscan rulers finally caused a revolt, and the kings of Rome were driven out. Thus about 500 B.C. the career of Rome under kings came to an end; but the two and a half centuries of Etruscan rule left their mark on Rome, always afterward discernible especially in architecture.

Section 52. The Early Republic: its Progress and Government

502. Greek alphabet adopted in Rome

During this Etruscan period, Greek influences were equally important in Latium. At the dock below the Tiber ford, ships from the Greek cities of southern Italy were becoming more and more common. Long before the Etruscan kings were driven out, the Roman traders had gradually learned to scribble memoranda of their own with the letters which they found in the bills they received from the Greek merchants. Greek letters

thus became likewise the Roman alphabet, slightly changed to suit the Latin language. Thus the oriental alphabet (§ 228) was carried one step further in the long westward journey which finally made it (after some changes) the alphabet with which this book is printed.

503. Greek influence: business and money in Rome

As Roman traffic grew, it was found very inconvenient to pay bills with grain and oxen, while the Greek merchant at the

A *B*

FIG. 101. SPECIMENS OF EARLY ROMAN COPPER MONEY

In the time of Alexander the Great (second half of the fourth century B.C.), the Romans found it too inconvenient to continue paying their debts in goods, especially in cattle (§ 498). They therefore cast copper in blocks, each block with the figure of an ox upon it (see *A*, above), to indicate its value. The Roman word for cattle (*pecus*) was the origin of their frequent word for property (*pecunia*) and has descended to us in our common word "pecuniary." These blocks were unwieldy, and, influenced by the Greeks, the Romans then cast large disks of copper (*B*, above), which were also very ponderous, each weighing nearly a pound Troy. This coin was called an *as*. When two generations later (268 B.C.) the Romans began to coin silver (see Fig. 102), copper was no longer used for large payments and the *as* was reduced in size to one sixth its former weight

dock paid his bills with copper and silver coins. At length, over a hundred and fifty years after the Etruscan kings had been driven out, the Romans began to issue copper coins (Fig. 101).

504. Greek influences: religion

But the Greeks also influenced other things besides Roman business. For the Roman peasant heard of strange gods of the Greeks, and he was told that they were the counterparts or the originals of his own gods. For him there was a god over each realm in nature and each field of human life: Jupiter was the

great Sky-god and king of all the gods; Mars, the patron of all warriors; Venus, the queen of love; Juno, an ancient Sky-goddess, was protectress of women, of birth and marriage, while Vesta, too, watched over the household life; Ceres was the goddess who maintained the fruitfulness of the earth, and especially the grainfields (compare English "cereal"); and Mercury was the messenger of the gods who protected intercourse and *merc*handising, as his name shows. The streets were full of Greek stories regarding the heroic adventures of these divinities when they were on earth. The Roman learned that Venus was the Greek Aphrodite, Mercury was Hermes, Ceres was Demeter, and so on.

505. Mechanical character of Roman religion and the Roman mind

The rather coldly calculating Roman lacked the warm and vivid imagination of the Greeks which had created the beautiful Greek mythology. The Roman regarded acts of worship as the mere fulfillment of a contract by which the gods must bestow favors if the worshiper was faithful in the performance of his duties. In religion, therefore, the Roman saw only a list of mechanical duties, such as the presentation of offerings, the sacrifice of animals, and the like, and such duties were easily fulfilled. In accordance with this rather legal conception of religion, the Romans were better fitted for great achievements in political and legal organization than for new and original developments in religion, art, literature, or discoveries in science. Let us now see how Roman common sense and political wisdom developed the Roman State.

506. Elective consuls replace the kings; the Roman Republic is established

When the Etruscan kings were driven out of Rome, about 500 B.C., the nobles, called *patricians*, were in control of the government. The patricians agreed that two of their number should be *elected* as heads of the State. These two magistrates, called *consuls*, were both to have the same powers, were to serve for a year only and then give way to two others. To choose them, annual elections were held in an assembly of the weapon-bearing men, largely under the control of the patricians. Nevertheless, we must call this new state a republic, of which

the consuls were the presidents; for the people had a voice in electing them. But as only patricians could serve as consuls, their government was very oppressive. The people (called the *plebs*; compare our "plebeian"), especially among the Latin tribes, refused to submit to such oppression.

507. The tribunes defenders of the people

The patricians were unable to get on without the help of the people as soldiers in their frequent wars. They therefore agreed to give the people a larger share in the government, by allowing them in their own assembly to elect a group of new officials, called *tribunes*. The tribunes had the right to veto the action of any officer of the government — even that of the consuls themselves. When any citizen was treated unjustly by a consul he had only to appeal to one of the tribunes, and the tribune could rescind the consul's unjust action and even save a citizen from sentence of death.

508. Growing body of government officials

In the beginning it would seem that almost all the business of government was in the hands of the consuls. They found it more and more difficult to carry on the volume of business which the government required. It gradually became necessary to create new officers for various kinds of business. To take care of the government funds, treasury officials called *quæstors* were appointed. Officials called *censors* were required to keep lists of the people, to control them in various ways, especially to look after the daily conduct of the people and see that nothing improper was permitted. Our own use of the word "censor" is derived from these Roman officials. For the decision of legal cases a judge called a *prætor* was appointed to assist the consul, and the number of such judges slowly increased. In times of great national danger it was customary to appoint some revered and trustworthy leader as the supreme ruler of the State. He was called the Dictator, and he could hold his power for but a brief period.

The consuls had great power and influence in all government matters, but they were much influenced by a council of patricians called the Senate (from Latin *senex*, meaning "old man").

509. The Senate and the controlling power of the patricians

Now the patricians enjoyed the exclusive right to serve as consuls, to sit in the Senate, and to hold almost all of the offices created to carry on the business of government (§ 508). The power which the patricians held, therefore, quite unfairly exceeded that of the plebeians.

510. The struggle of the plebs and patricians

The tribunes, as we have seen (§ 507), could protect the people from some injustices, but they could not secure to the citizen all his rights, like the right to be elected as consul, or to become a senator, or to marry a patrician's daughter. The struggle which had resulted in the appointment of the tribunes, therefore, went on — a struggle of the common people to win their rights from the wealthy and powerful. It was a struggle like that which we have followed in Athens and the other Greek states, but at Rome it reached a much wiser and more successful settlement. The citizens of Rome manfully stood forth for their rights, and without fighting, civil war, or bloodshed they secured them to a large extent in the course of the first two centuries after the founding of the Republic.

511. The old laws reduced to writing and the question of new laws

They insisted upon a record of the existing laws *in writing*, in order that they might know by what laws they were being judged. About fifty years after the establishment of the Republic, the earliest Roman laws were reduced to writing and engraved upon twelve tablets of bronze (450 B.C.). But at the same time the people demanded the right to share in the making of *new* laws, and to possess an assembly of the people, which might pass new laws.

512. Law-making power gained by the assemblies, and resulting laws making for equality of plebs with patricians

Having shaken off the legal power of the Senate to control their action, the assemblies of the people became the law-making bodies of the Roman State. In this way the people gradually secured a fairer share of the public lands and further social rights. Finally, and most important of all, these new laws increased the rights of the people to hold office. In the end Roman citizens elected their plebeian neighbors as censors and quæstors, as judges and at last even as consuls, and they saw men of the people sitting in the Senate.

513. The new nobility of former magistrates

This progress of the people in power brought with it important new developments affecting both society and government. Roman citizens had a deep respect for government and for its officials. There soon grew up a group of once plebeian families, distinguished by the public service of its members, to whom the Roman citizens looked up with great respect. When the voters were called upon to select their candidates, they preferred members of these eminent families, especially for the consulship. A new nobility was thus formed, made up of such illustrious families and the old patricians.

514. The new nobility gains control of the Senate

This situation directly affected the Senate, the members of which had formerly been appointed from among the patricians by the consuls. A new law, however, authorized the *censors* to make out the lists of senators, giving the preference to those who had been magistrates. Thus the new nobility of ex-magistrates, formerly plebeians, entered the Senate, bringing in fresh blood from the ranks of the people.

515. The Senate gains the leadership over the consul

As a result of these changes the Senate was made up of the three hundred men of Rome who had gained the most experience in government and in public affairs. Their combined influence was finally stronger than the consul himself. Instead of telling the senators of his own plans and of the laws he desired, the consul found himself listening to the proposals of the Senate and carrying out the will of the senators. As a result the consul was obliged to carry on the government according to instructions from the Senate.

516. The Senate gains control of lawmaking

In the matter of lawmaking a similar growth of the Senate's influence took place. Although the popular assemblies had the right to *make* laws (§ 512), it was not in their power to *propose* a new law. They could vote upon it only after it had been proposed by a *magistrate*, especially by one of the tribunes. The influence of the Senate on the magistrates was such that the magistrates discussed with the senators every law to be brought before the assemblies for adoption, and thus the senators could use their influence to prevent any law they disliked from being proposed.

517. The Roman Senate the supreme leader of the State

By far the larger part of the Roman citizens lived too far away to come up to the city and vote. Feeling too their own ignorance of public affairs, the Roman citizens were not unwilling that important public questions should be settled by the Senate. Thus the Roman Senate became a large committee of experienced statesmen, guiding and controlling the Roman State. They formed the greatest council of rulers which ever grew up in the ancient world, or perhaps in any age. They were a body of aristocrats, and their control of Rome made it an aristocratic state, in spite of its republican form. We are now to watch the steady development and progress of Roman power under the wise and stable leadership of the Senate. We should bear in mind, however, that the Senate's power was a slow growth, continuing during the wars and conquests which we are now to follow.

Section 53. The Expansion of the Roman Republic and the Conquest of Italy

518. The Latin League and the treaty with Rome

It was a tiny nation which began its uncertain career after the expulsion of the Etruscan kings about 500 B.C. The territory of the Roman Republic thus far comprised only the city with the neighboring fields for a very few miles around. On the other side of the Tiber lived the dreaded Etruscans, and on the Roman side of the river, all around the little republic, lay the lands of the Latin tribes, only loosely united with the republic by treaty.

519. Early struggles of the Republic: against Etruscans and Italic neighbors

For two generations the new republic struggled for the preservation of its mere existence. Fortunately for the Romans, within a generation after the foundation of the Republic the Greek fleet of Syracuse utterly destroyed the Etruscan fleet (474 B.C.). Later the Etruscans were attacked in the rear by the Gauls (§ 460) who were at this time pouring over the Alpine passes into the valley of the Po and laying waste the Etruscan cities of the North. This weakening of the Etruscans

at the hands of their enemies on both north and south probably saved Rome from destruction. By 400 B.C. or a little after, the Romans had conquered and taken possession of a fringe of new territory on all sides, which protected them from their enemies.

520. Agricultural colonization and expansion the Roman policy

In the new territory thus gained the Romans planted colonies of citizens, or they granted citizenship or other valuable privileges to the conquered population. Roman peasants, under obligation to bear Roman arms and having a voice in the government, thus pushed out into the new and enlarging Roman territory. We may call this plan a *policy of agricultural expansion*. It gave to Rome an ever-increasing body of brave and hardy citizen-soldiers. The Roman policy was thus in striking contrast with the narrow methods of the Greek republics, which jealously prevented outsiders from gaining citizenship. It was the steady expansion of Rome under this policy which in a little over two centuries after the expulsion of the Etruscan kings made the little republic on the Tiber mistress of all Italy (see map, p. 256).

521. Capture of Rome by the Gauls (382 B.C.)

The second century of Roman expansion opened with a fearful catastrophe, which very nearly accomplished the complete destruction of the nation. In the first two decades after 400 B.C. the barbarian Gauls of the North (§ 519), who had been overrunning the territory of the Etruscans, finally reached the lower Tiber, defeated the Roman army, and entered the city. Unable, however, to capture the citadel on the Capitol Hill, the Gauls at length agreed to accept a ransom of gold and to return northward, where they settled in the valley of the Po. But they still remained a serious danger to the Romans.

522. Subjugation of the Latin tribes (338 B.C.)

As Rome recovered from this disaster, it was evident that the city needed fortifications, and for the first time masonry walls (Plan, p. 261) were built around it. Alarmed at its growing power, the Latin tribes now endeavored to break away from the control of the powerful walled city. In the two years' war which resulted the city was completely victorious (338 B.C.).

Rome thus gained the undisputed leadership of the Latin tribes, which was at last to bring her the leadership of Italy.

523. The leadership of Greeks and Latins decided in the same year (338 B.C.)

The year 338 B.C., in which this important event took place, is a date to be well remembered, for it also witnessed the defeat of the Greek cities at the hands of Philip of Macedon (§ 431). In the same year, therefore, both the Greeks and the Latins saw themselves conquered and falling under the leadership of a single state — the Greeks under that of Macedonia, the Latins under that of Rome. But in Greece that leadership was in the hands of one man who might and did perish; while in Italy the leadership of the Latins was in the hands of a whole body of wise leaders, the Roman Senate. In sixty-five years they were now to gain the leadership of all Italy.

524. The Samnite Wars (325–290 B.C.) and the Battle of Sentinum (295 B.C.)

Meantime another formidable foe, a group of Italic tribes called the Samnites, had been gaining possession of the mountains inland from Rome. They had gained some civilization from the Greek cities of the South, and they were able to muster a large army of hardy peasants, very dangerous in war. By 325 B.C. a fierce war broke out between the Romans and the Samnites. It lasted with interruptions for a generation. The Romans lost several battles, and the Samnites then attempted a combination of Rome's enemies against her. They succeeded in shifting their army northward and joining forces with both the Etruscans and the Gauls. All central and much of northern Italy was now involved in the war. In the mountains midway between the upper Tiber and the eastern shores of Italy the Roman army met and crushed the combined forces of the allies in a terrible battle at Sentinum (295 B.C.). This victory not only gave the Romans possession of central Italy, but it made them the leading power in the whole peninsula.

525. Rome the mistress of central and northern Italy to the Arnus River after Sentinum

Henceforth the Etruscans were unable to maintain themselves as a leading power. One by one their cities were taken by the Romans, or they entered into alliance with Rome. The intruding Gallic barbarians were beaten off, though the settled Gauls continued to hold the Po valley. The northern boundary

of the Roman conquests was therefore along the Arnus River, south of the Apennines. The Romans were then supreme from the Arnus to the Greek cities of southern Italy (see map, p. 256).

526. Endeavor of the Western Greeks to unite against Rome

The remaining three great rivals in the western Mediterranean world were now the Romans, the Greeks, and the Carthaginians. Four centuries of conflict among themselves had left the western Greek colonies (§§ 257–259) still a disunited group of cities fringing southern Italy and Sicily. Alarmed at the threatening expansion of Roman power, they now made another endeavor to unite, and sent an appeal for help to Pyrrhus, the vigorous and able king of Epirus, just across from the heel of Italy.

527. The war with Pyrrhus (280–275 B.C.)

With a powerful army, and his well-known talent as a soldier, Pyrrhus was a highly dangerous foe. His purpose was to form a great nation of the Western Greeks in Sicily and Italy. He completely defeated the Romans in two battles, and he gained practically the whole island of Sicily. He then seemed about to succeed in his effort to establish a powerful western Greek empire. But the Carthaginians, seeing a dangerous rival rising only a few hours' sail from their home harbor, sent a fleet to assist the Romans against Pyrrhus. With a Carthaginian fleet at the mouth of the Tiber, the Roman Senate resolutely refused to make peace while the army of Pyrrhus occupied Italian soil. At the same time the Greeks disagreed among themselves, as they always did at critical times. Pyrrhus then withdrew from Sicily, and finding himself unable to inflict a decisive defeat on the Romans, he returned to Epirus.

528. Rome in possession of the entire Italian peninsula; resulting rivalry between Rome and Carthage

One by one the helpless Greek cities of Italy then surrendered to the Roman army, and they had no choice but to accept alliance with the Romans. Thus ended all hope of a great Greek nation in the West. In two centuries and a quarter (500–275 B.C.) the tiny republic on the Tiber had gained the mastery of the entire Italian peninsula south of the Po valley. There were now but two rivals in the western Mediterranean world — Rome and Carthage.

QUESTIONS

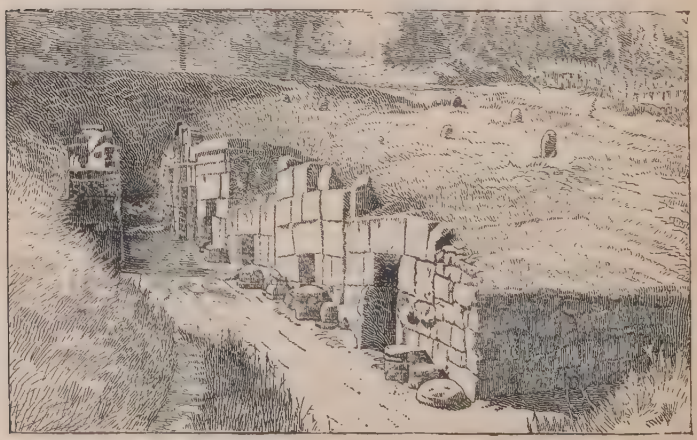
SECTION 50. Discuss the geography of the western Mediterranean world; of Italy. Who were the Italic tribes? Name the four rival peoples of the western Mediterranean world, and tell something of each.

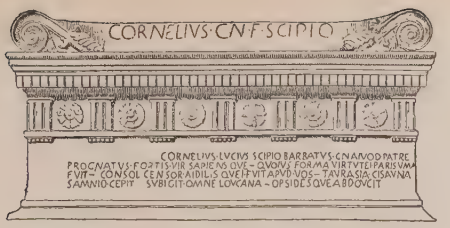
SECTION 51. Discuss early Latium. Describe its leading market town. What people furnished the first kings of Rome? Tell of their rule. What civilization did the Etruscans receive? Give examples. When were they expelled from Rome?

SECTION 52. Tell about Greek influences among the Romans. Who took the place of the expelled Etruscan kings? What did the government of Rome become? How did the people gain power? How did the Senate gain power?

SECTION 53. Describe the Roman policy of expansion. Discuss the wars with the Gauls; with the Latins; with the Samnites; with the Greeks and Pyrrhus. What was the result? How long had it taken to gain it? What two rivals remained?

NOTE. The scene below shows us a line of Etruscan tombs in Italy. The burial was often accompanied with jewelry of gold and silver, furniture, implements and weapons (Fig. 98), besides beautiful vases (Fig. 70). The walls of the inner chambers were often painted with decorative scenes from the life of the Etruscans and from scenes of Greek mythology, learned by the Etruscans from their intercourse with the Greeks. The Etruscans buried here lived in a strong walled town of which the ruins lie near by.




CORNELIVS·CN·F·SCIPIO
CORNELIVS·LVCIVS SCIPIO BARBATVS·GNAIVOD PATRE
PROGNATVS·FORTIS VIR SAPIENSQVE·QVOIVS·FORMA VIRTVTEI PARISVMA
FVIT· CONSOL CENSOR AIDILIS QVEI·FVIT APVD VOS· TAVRASIA·CISAVNA
SAMNIO CEPIT SVBIGIT·OMNE LOVCANA·OPSIDES QVE·ABDOVCIT

CHAPTER XV

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC IN ITALY AND THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

Section 54. Italy under the Early Roman Republic

529. The problem of making Italy a nation

After the leadership of Italy had been gained by Rome, there were men still living who could remember the Latin war (ended 338 B.C.), when Rome had lost even the surrounding fields of little Latium. Now, less than sixty-five years later, the city on the Tiber was mistress of *all Italy*. The new power over a large group of cities and states, thus gained within a single lifetime, was exercised by the Roman Senate with the greatest skill and success. If Rome had *annexed* all the conquered lands, and endeavored to rule them from Rome, the population of Italy would have been dissatisfied, and constant revolts would have followed. How, then, was Italy to become a nation, controlled by Rome?

The Romans began by granting the defeated cities a kind of citizenship, which entitled them to all the protection of the Roman State in the courts and in carrying on commerce and

Note. The above headpiece represents the beautiful stone sarcophagus of one of the early Scipios, found in the family tomb on the Appian Way (Fig. 99). It is adorned with details of Greek architecture, which clearly show that it was done by a Greek artist (§ 533). Verses in early Latin, on the side of the sarcophagus, contain praises of the departed Scipio.

530. Self-governing local communities made *allies*

business, but did not entitle them to vote. In distant communities, however, no one felt the lack of this privilege, for in order to vote it was necessary to go to Rome. Cities and communities controlled by Rome in this way were called *allies*. Enjoying the protection of the powerful Roman State, the allies were willing to place their troops entirely at the disposal of Rome.

531. Communities enjoying full *Roman citizenship*

Rome had also gradually *annexed* a good deal of territory to pay her war expenses and to supply her increasing numbers of citizens with land. Her own full citizens thus occupied about one sixth of the territory of Italy. It was furthermore Rome's policy to sprinkle Roman colonies through the territory of the allies. All Italy was thus more or less dotted with such communities made up of citizens of the Roman Republic.

FIG. 102. A ROMAN DENARIUS OF SILVER

After the capture of the Greek cities of southern Italy, the Romans began the coinage of silver (268 B.C.) (see § 534). The large and inconvenient *as* (Fig. 101, *B*) was then displaced by silver for all large transactions. The value of this coin, called a *denarius*, was a little less than twenty cents, like the Athenian *drachma* (§ 279)

532. Diversity of language and traditions; resulting lack of national unity in Italy

Roman organization had thus created a kind of United States of Italy, which might after a long time slowly merge into a nation. Meantime many of these peoples had no feeling of patriotism toward Rome. Having no common traditions like those of the Trojan War among the Greeks (§ 234), and speaking many different languages, so that they did not understand one another when they met, they long remained quite distinct from each other and from Rome. Italy was therefore far from being a *nation*.

In language the future nation was to be Latin, the tongue of the ruling city; geographically it comprised Italy; politically

it was Roman.[1] When we consider Rome from the point of view of *civilization*, however, we are obliged to add a fourth name. For as time went on, Italy was to become in civilization more and more Greek. In the Greek cities of southern Italy, the Romans for the first time saw beautiful temples (tailpiece, p. 147) and fine theaters (see Plate, p. 144); and they must have attended Greek plays also, of which they understood little or nothing. But the races and athletic games in the handsome stadium of such a Greek city required no interpretation in order to be understood by the sturdy Roman soldiers, who had fought Pyrrhus in the South.

533. Italy to become Latin in speech, Greek in civilization

In southern Italy the Romans had taken possession of the western fringe of the great Hellenistic world, whose wonderful civilization we have already studied (Section 49). The Romans at once felt the superiority of this new world of cultivated life, which they had entered in the Greek South. It was as yet chiefly in commerce and in business that Greek influences were evident. Greek silver money appeared in greater quantities after the capture of the Greek cities, and not long after the war with Pyrrhus Rome issued her first silver coin (Fig. 102). Just as Athens had once done (§ 280), so Rome now began to feel the influence of money, and a moneyed class, largely merchants, arose. They were not manufacturers, as at Athens, and Rome never became a great industrial center.

534. Early evidences of Greek civilization in Rome; silver coinage

Section 55. The Rising Rivalry between Rome and Carthage

The Roman farmers had looked no farther than the shores of Italy, but the transactions of the Roman merchants reached out beyond those shores. Roman ships issuing from the Tiber entered a triangular inclosure of the Mediterranean, called the

535. Commercial expansion of Rome seaward

[1] Compare the similar application of three names to our own country. Our language is English. Geographically we are commonly called America; politically we are the United States.

Etruscan Sea. A glance at the map (p. 256) shows us how Rome and Carthage faced each other across this triangular sea, where both were now carrying on extensive business.

536. Carthaginian expansion in Africa, Spain, and the western Mediterranean islands

As the trade of Carthage increased she had gradually gained the north African coast — from the frontiers of the Greek city of Cyrene westward to the Atlantic (§ 227). She had become the commercial mistress of the western Mediterranean world. Her merchants seized southern Spain, with its profitable silver mines, and they gained control of the import of British tin by way of the Strait of Gibraltar. Outside of this strait their settlements extended both northward and southward far along the Atlantic coast. It was only the incoming of the Greeks (§§ 257–259) which had prevented the Carthaginians from taking possession of all the western Mediterranean islands upon which their splendid harbor looked out, especially the island of Sicily. They closed the ports of the islands and the Strait of Gibraltar *to ships from all other cities*. Ships of other nations intruding in these waters were promptly rammed and sunk by Carthaginian warships.

537. Carthaginian army, state, and civilization

Unlike Rome, the military power of Carthage was built up entirely on a basis of money, with which she supported a large mercenary army. She had no farmers cultivating their own land, from whom she could draw an army of citizen-soldiers as did Rome. This was a serious weakness. The rulers of the city never trusted the army, made up as it was of hired foreigners, and they always felt some distrust even toward their own born Carthaginian generals, lest the generals should endeavor to make themselves kings of Carthage. Carthage was governed by a group of merchant nobles, a wealthy aristocracy whose members formed a Council in complete control. They were energetic and statesmanlike rulers. Centuries of shrewd guidance on their part made Carthage a great state, far exceeding in power any of the Greek states that ever arose, not excluding Athens. Although inferior to the Greeks in civilization, the Carthaginians were quite the equals of the Greeks in matters

of household equipment and city building. The city of Carthage itself was luxurious and splendid, and in area it was three times as large as Rome.

In the fourth century B.C., before Rome had gained the leadership of Italy, when the Roman merchants were still doing a small business, the Senate had made a treaty with Carthage, in which it was agreed that no Carthaginian ships should trade in the ports of Italy and no Roman ships would enter the harbors of Sicily. With increasing vexation the merchants of Italy realized that Rome had gained the supremacy of Italy and pushed her frontiers to the southernmost tip of the peninsula, only to look across and find that the merchant princes of Carthage held the markets of Sicily and had made the western Mediterranean a Carthaginian sea.

Indeed, Carthage was gaining a position which might cut off Rome from communication with even her own ports on the Adriatic side of Italy. To reach them, Roman ships must pass through the Strait of Messina, between Italy and Sicily. We can understand the dread with which Italian merchants looked southward, thinking of the day

538. Early commercial treaties and the growing friction between Carthage and Rome

FIG. 103. A ROMAN SOLDIER OF THE LEGION

The figure of the soldier is carved upon a tombstone, erected in his memory by his brother. His offensive weapons are his spear (*pilum*), which he holds in his extended right hand with point upward, and his heavy short sword (*gladius*), which he wears girded high on his right side (see § 541). As defensive equipment he has a helmet, a leathern corselet stopping midway between the waist and knees, and a shield (*scutum*)

539. Danger to Rome in the threatened loss of the Strait of Messina

when Carthaginian warships in the harbor at Messina would stop all traffic between the west coast of Italy and the Adriatic.

540. War strength of the Romans

The Roman Senate without doubt shared these apprehensions. But the Romans could put a *citizen* army of over three hundred thousand men into the field. Besides the troops made up of Roman citizens, the principle was adopted of having each army include also about an equal number of troops drawn from the *allies*. This plan, therefore, doubled the number of available troops. The Roman army consequently far exceeded in size any army ever before organized in the Mediterranean world.

541. Roman improvements in arms and tactics

In arms and tactics the Romans had been able to make some improvements in the Hellenistic art of war (§ 400). After hurling their spears into the ranks of the enemy, the Romans fought with their short swords, which were much more easily handled at close quarters than long spears (Fig. 103). At the same time the Romans had likewise improved the phalanx, which had thus far been a long massive unit eight men deep, and possessing as a whole no flexibility. It had no joints. The Romans gave it joints and flexibility by cutting it up in both directions; that is, lengthwise and crosswise into small bodies of men, called maniples. As the Romans gradually learned to shift these smaller units more and more skillfully, the art of war entered upon a new chapter.[1] For purposes of mustering and feeding an army, the Romans divided it into larger bodies, called *legions*, each containing usually forty-five hundred men.

542. Lack of experienced commanding generals; military discipline

Notwithstanding these improvements, the Romans did not at first see the importance of a commander of long experience who had become a professional military leader like the Hellenistic commanders (§ 399). Hence the Romans intrusted their armies to the command of consuls, who as presidents of the republic had often never had any experience in military leadership. In military discipline, however, the Romans surpassed all other peoples of ancient times.

[1] For a fuller explanation of these remarkable improvements, see *Ancient Times*, §§ 844–848, and Fig. 237.

Section 56. The Struggle with Carthage: the Sicilian War, or First Punic War

543. Opening of the Sicilian War (First Punic War) with Carthage at Messina (264 B.C.)

The Romans soon discovered that the struggle with Carthage could not be avoided. A local war in Sicily gave a Carthaginian garrison opportunity to occupy the citadel of Messina, and the Carthaginians were then in command of the Strait of Messina (see map, p. 256, and § 539). The Romans now took a memorable step. A Roman army left the soil of Italy, crossed the sea for the first time in Roman history, and entered Sicily. The struggle with Carthage had begun (264 B.C.) (see Map I, p. 288).

544. The Romans build their first war fleet; the naval war with Carthage

An alliance with Syracuse soon gave the Romans possession of eastern Sicily, but they were long hampered for lack of a war fleet. In the fifth year of the war, however, a new Roman war fleet, which the Senate caused to be built, put to sea for the first time. It numbered a hundred and twenty battleships.

545. Final naval victory of the Romans (241 B.C.)

In spite of inexperience, the Roman fleet was at first victorious. Then one Roman fleet after another was destroyed by heavy storms at sea, and one of them was badly defeated by the Carthaginians. Year after year the struggle dragged on, while Hamilcar Barca, the Carthaginian commander, was plundering the coasts of Italy with his fleet. The treasury at Rome was empty, and the Romans were at the end of their resources; but by private contributions they succeeded in building another fleet, which put to sea in 242 B.C. with two hundred battleships of five banks of oars. The Carthaginian fleet was defeated and broken up (241 B.C.), and as a result the Carthaginians found themselves unable to send reënforcements across the sea to their army in Sicily.

546. Peace at the end of the Sicilian War (241 B.C.)

They were therefore at last obliged to accept hard terms of peace at the hands of the Romans. The Carthaginians were to give up Sicily and the neighboring islands to Rome, and to pay the Romans as war damages the sum of thirty-two hundred talents, over three and a half million dollars, within

ten years. Thus in 241 B.C., after more than twenty-three years of fighting, the first period of the struggle between Rome and Carthage ended with the victory of Rome. For the first time Rome held territory outside of Italy, and from this step she was never able to withdraw.

Section 57. The Hannibalian War (Second Punic War) and the Destruction of Carthage

547. Roman seizure of Sardinia and Corsica and conquest of the Po valley

Both the rivals now devoted themselves to increasing their strength, nor did Rome hesitate to do so at the expense of Carthage. In spite of protests from Carthage, only three years after the settlement of peace Rome took possession of both Sardinia and Corsica. She now possessed three island outposts against Carthage. At the same time the Romans conquered the Gauls and seized their territory in the Po valley. Thus Roman power was extended northward to the foot of the Alps, and the entire peninsula from the Alps southward was held by Rome (Map II, p. 288).

548. New Carthaginian conquests in Spain and the rise of Hannibal

To offset this increase of Roman power the Carthaginian leaders turned toward Spain. There Hamilcar's gifted son Hannibal carried Carthaginian rule as far north as the Ebro River (Map II, p. 288), to which point Rome also extended her claims. Although only twenty-four years of age, Hannibal was already forming colossal plans for a bold surprise of Rome in her own territory, which by its unexpectedness and audacity should crush Roman power in Italy.

549. Opening of the Hannibalian War (218–202 B.C.)

So bold and resolute a leader as Hannibal soon found opportunity for a frontier quarrel with Rome in Spain (219 B.C.). With a strong and well-drilled army of about forty thousand men he was soon marching northward along the east coast of Spain (map, *Ancient Times*, p. 538) with the purpose of crossing southern Gaul and invading Italy. Thus while the Roman Senate was planning to invade Spain and Africa, they found their own land suddenly threatened from the north.

550. Hannibal leads his army across the Alps (218 B.C.)

It was late autumn when Hannibal reached the Alps (218 B.C.). Overwhelmed by snowstorms; struggling over a steep and dangerous trail, sometimes so narrow that the rocks had to be cut away to make room for the elephants; looking down over dizzy precipices, or up to snow-covered heights where hostile natives rolled great stones down upon them, the discouraged army of Hannibal toiled on day after day, exhausted, cold, and hungry. At every point along the straggling line, where help was most needed, the young Carthaginian was always present, encouraging and guiding his men. But when they issued from the Alpine pass, perhaps Mt. Cenis, and entered Italy in the upper valley of the Po, they had suffered such losses that they were reduced to some thirty-four thousand men.

551. Inferior size of Hannibal's army; superiority of his military knowledge

With this little army the dauntless Carthaginian youth had entered the territory of the strongest military power of the time — a nation which could now call to her defense over seven hundred thousand men, citizens and allies. Hannibal, however, was thoroughly acquainted with the most highly developed methods of warfare, and the exploits of Alexander a century earlier were familiar to him. On the other hand, the Roman consuls, commanding the Roman armies, were simply magistrates like our mayors, often without much more knowledge of handling an army than has a city mayor in our time (§ 542). They were no match for the crafty young Carthaginian.

552. Hannibal's first three victories

By skillful use of his cavalry, in which the Romans were weak, Hannibal easily won two engagements in the Po valley. The Gauls of the region at once began to flock to his standards, but they were raw, undisciplined troops. Having successfully crossed the Apennines, Hannibal surprised the army of the unsuspecting consul, Flaminius, on the march. On the shores of Lake Trasimene, he ambushed the legions both in front and rear and cut to pieces the entire Roman army. The consul himself fell. Being only a few days' march from Rome, Hannibal might now have advanced directly against the city; but he

had no siege machinery (*Ancient Times*, p. 140), and his forces were not numerous enough for the siege of so strong a fortress. He therefore desired a further victory in the hope that the allies of Rome would revolt and join him in attacking the city.

553. A year of delay and preparation (217–216 B.C.)

At this dangerous crisis the Romans appointed a Dictator, a stable old citizen named Fabius, whose plan was to wear out Hannibal by refusing to give battle and by using every opportunity to harass the Carthaginians. This policy of caution and delay did not meet with popular favor at Rome. The people called Fabius the Laggard (*Cunctator*), a name which ever afterward clung to him. The new consuls, elected for 216 B.C., therefore recruited an army of nearly seventy thousand men and pushed southward toward the heel of the Italian peninsula to fight Hannibal. The battle took place at Cannæ (see map, p. 256).

554. Hannibal annihilates the Roman army at the Battle of Cannæ (216 B.C.)

Hannibal's stronger cavalry, forming his two wings, put to flight the horsemen forming the two Roman wings. Then his well-trained cavalry turned back to attack the heavy mass of the Roman center in the rear, and the Romans were caught between the Carthaginian center before them and the Carthaginian cavalry behind them. Only the sides of the trap were still open. Then two bodies of African reserves which Hannibal had kept waiting pushed quietly forward till they occupied positions on each side of the fifty-five thousand brave soldiers of the Roman center, who were thus inclosed on all sides.[1] What ensued was simply a slaughter of the doomed Romans, lasting all the rest of the day. When night closed in, the Roman army was annihilated. Ex-consuls, senators, nobles, thousands of the best citizens of Rome, had fallen in this frightful battle. Every family in Rome was in mourning. Of the gold rings worn by Roman knights as an indication of their rank, Hannibal is reported to have sent a bushel to Carthage.

Thus this masterful young Carthaginian, the greatest of Semite generals, within two years after his arrival in Italy and before he was thirty years of age, had defeated his giant

[1] See plan, *Ancient Times*, p. 540, and §§ 863–865.

antagonist in four battles and destroyed three of the opposing armies. He might now count upon a revolt among the Roman allies. Within a few years southern Italy, including the Greek cities, and even Syracuse in Sicily forsook Rome and joined Hannibal. Only some of the southern Latin colonies held out against him. To make matters worse for Rome, immediately after Cannæ, Hannibal sent messengers to Macedonia, and one of the later Philips then reigning there agreed to send help to the Carthaginians in Italy.

555. Hannibal organizes the revolting Roman allies against Rome and calls in the Macedonians

In all this Hannibal was displaying the judgment and insight of a statesman combined with amazing ability to meet the constant demands of the military situation. But opposing him were the dogged resolution, the ripe statesmanship, the unshaken organization, and the seemingly inexhaustible numbers of the Romans. It was a battle of giants for the mastery of the world; for the victor in this struggle would without any question be the greatest power in the Mediterranean. The heirs of Alexander's empire in the Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean did not understand the nature of this gigantic struggle in Italy. If they had stopped fighting among themselves and had combined against Rome, they might now have crushed her forever. But the Roman Senate, with clever statesmanship, made an alliance with the Greeks, thus stirring up a revolt in Greece against the Macedonians and preventing them from furnishing help to Hannibal. In spite of Hannibal's victories, the steadiness and fine leadership of the Roman Senate held central Italy loyal to Rome. Although the Romans were finally compelled to place arms in the hands of slaves and mere boys, new armies were formed. With these forces the Romans proceeded to besiege and capture one after another the allied cities which had revolted against Rome. Even the clever devices of Archimedes (§ 469) during a desperate siege did not save Syracuse from being recaptured by the Romans (212 B.C.).

556. Hannibal's statesmanship versus Roman diplomacy and determination

As a last hope Hannibal marched upon Rome itself, and with his bodyguard rode up to one of the gates of the great

557. Hannibal's fruitless advance to Rome (211 B.C.)

city, whose power seemed so unbroken. For a brief time the two antagonists faced each other, and many a Roman senator must have looked over the walls at the figure of the tremendous young Carthaginian who had shaken all Italy as with an earthquake. But they were not to be frightened into offers of peace in this way, nor did they send out any message to him. His army was not large enough to lay siege to the greatest city of Italy. He had not been able to secure any siege machinery and he was therefore obliged to retreat without accomplishing anything.

558. Hannibal's reënforcements intercepted and destroyed (207 B.C.)

When he had finally been ten years in Italy, Hannibal realized that unless powerful reënforcements could reach him, his cause was hopeless. His brother Hasdrubal in Spain had gathered an army and was now marching into Italy to aid him. But Hasdrubal was met by a Roman army, completely defeated, and himself slain (207 B.C.). To the senators waiting in keenest anticipation at Rome, the news of the victory meant the salvation of Italy and the final defeat of an enemy who had all but accomplished the destruction of Roman power. To Hannibal, anxiously awaiting tidings of his brother and of the needed reënforcements, the first announcement of the disaster and the crushing of his hopes was the head of Hasdrubal hurled into the Carthaginian camp by a Roman messenger.

559. The decline of Hannibal's power in Italy and the rise of Scipio

For a few years more Hannibal struggled on in the southern tip of Italy, the only territory remaining of all that he had captured. Meantime the Romans, taught by the defeat of their consuls, had given the command of their forces in Spain to Scipio, one of the ablest of their younger leaders, and a trained soldier. He drove the Carthaginians entirely out of Spain, thus cutting off their chief supply both of money and of troops. In Scipio the Romans had at last found a general, with the masterful qualities which make a great military leader. He demanded of the Senate that he be sent to Africa to invade the dominions of Carthage as Hannibal had invaded those of Rome.

By 203 B.C. Scipio had twice defeated the Carthaginian forces in Africa, and Carthage was forced to call Hannibal home. He had spent fifteen years on the soil of Italy, and the great struggle between the almost exhausted rivals was now to be decided in Africa. At Zama, inland from Carthage, the final battle of the war took place. The great Carthaginian was at last met by an equally great Roman, and Scipio won the battle.[1]

560. Scipio defeats Hannibal at Zama (202 B.C.)

The victory over Carthage made Rome the leading power in the whole ancient world. In the treaty which followed the Battle of Zama, the Romans forced Carthage to pay ten thousand talents (over $11,000,000) in fifty years and to surrender all her warships but ten triremes. But, what was worse, she lost her independence as a nation, and according to the treaty she could not make war anywhere without the consent of the Romans. Although the Romans did not annex her territory in Africa, Carthage had become a vassal state.

561. The treaty ending the Hannibalian War (201 B.C.)

Hannibal escaped after his lost battle at Zama. Although we learn of his deeds chiefly through his enemies, the story of his dauntless struggle to save his native country, begun when he was only twenty-four and continued for twenty years, reveals him as one of the greatest and most gifted leaders in all history — a lion-hearted man, so strong of purpose that only a great nation like Rome could have crushed him. Indeed, Rome now compelled the Carthaginians to expel Hannibal, and as a man of fifty he went into exile in the East, where we shall find him stirring up the successors of Alexander to combine against Rome (§ 566).

562. The fate of Hannibal

Cato, a famous old-fashioned senator, was so convinced that Carthage was still a danger to Rome that he concluded all his speeches in the Senate with the words, "Carthage must be destroyed." For over fifty years more the merchants of Carthage were permitted to traffic in the western Mediterranean, and then the iron hand of Rome was laid upon the doomed

563. The destruction of Carthage (146 B.C.): Third Punic War

[1] On the remarkable duel of wits between the two commanders, marking a new epoch in warfare, see *Ancient Times*, §§ 872–874.

city for the last time. To defend herself against the Numidians behind her, Carthage was finally obliged to begin war against them. This step, which the Romans had long been desiring, was a violation of the treaty with Rome. The Senate seized the opportunity at once and Carthage was called to account. In the three years' war (Third Punic War) which followed, the beautiful city was captured and completely destroyed (146 B.C.; see tailpiece, p. 287). Its territory was taken by Rome and called the Province of Africa. A struggle of nearly one hundred and twenty years had resulted in the annihilation of Rome's only remaining rival in the western Mediterranean world.

564. Rome, supreme in the West, turns eastward

Thus the fourfold rivalry in the western Mediterranean, which had long included the Etruscans and Carthaginians, the Greeks and the Romans, had ended with the triumph of the once insignificant village on the Tiber. Racially, the western wing of the Indo-European line on the *north* side of the Mediterranean had proved victorious over that of the Semite line on the *south* side (Fig. 48). The western Mediterranean world was now under the leadership of a single great nation, the Romans, as the eastern Mediterranean world had once been under the leadership of the Macedonians. We must now turn back and follow the dealings of Rome with the Hellenistic-oriental world of the eastern Mediterranean, which we left (Section 49) after it had attained the most highly refined civilization ever achieved by ancient man (see Map II, p. 288).

QUESTIONS

SECTION 54. What two kinds of communities did Rome organize in Italy? Was Italy therefore a nation? Why? What was Rome as to civilization? How did this happen?

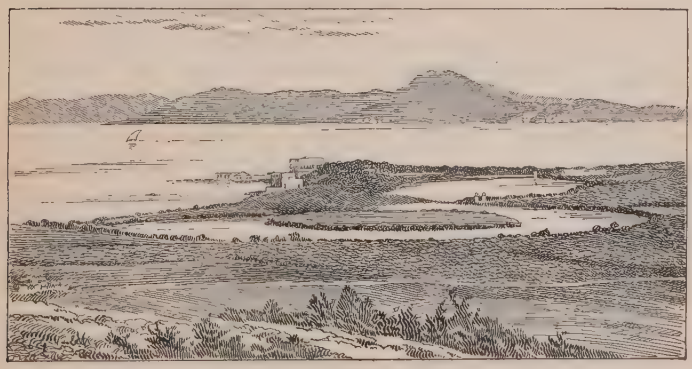
SECTION 55. Give the boundaries of the Etruscan Sea. What rival did Rome find there? Describe the power and civilization of Carthage. What early treaty did Rome make with Carthage? What important strait was threatened by Carthage? Discuss Roman power and ability in war.

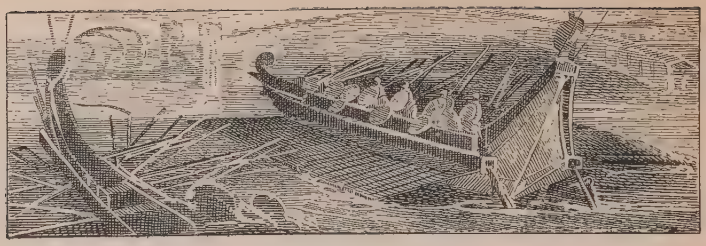
SECTION 56. What started the first war with Carthage? How were the Romans at first hampered? What was the result of the naval war? What terms did Rome force on Carthage?

SECTION 57. What islands did Rome next seize? What did the Carthaginians then do? What was the plan of Hannibal? Give an account of his great march and early victories. What was the policy of Fabius? Describe the Battle of Cannæ. What political moves did Hannibal then make? What did the heirs of Alexander's empire do?

Why did not Hannibal take Rome? What happened to Hannibal's reënforcements? What did the Roman leaders then do? What new leader did they appoint? What did he demand? What was the result? What terms were forced on defeated Carthage? What became of Hannibal? What continued to be Roman feeling against Carthage? What resulted? How did Rome finally treat Carthage? Who was then leader of the western Mediterranean world?

NOTE. The scene below shows us the harbors of Carthage as they are to-day. Of the city destroyed by the Romans almost nothing has survived. It was rebuilt under Julius Cæsar, but, as we see here, very little of this later city has survived. Thorough and systematic excavation would probably recover many valuable remains of ancient Carthaginian civilization, of which we know so little.





CHAPTER XVI

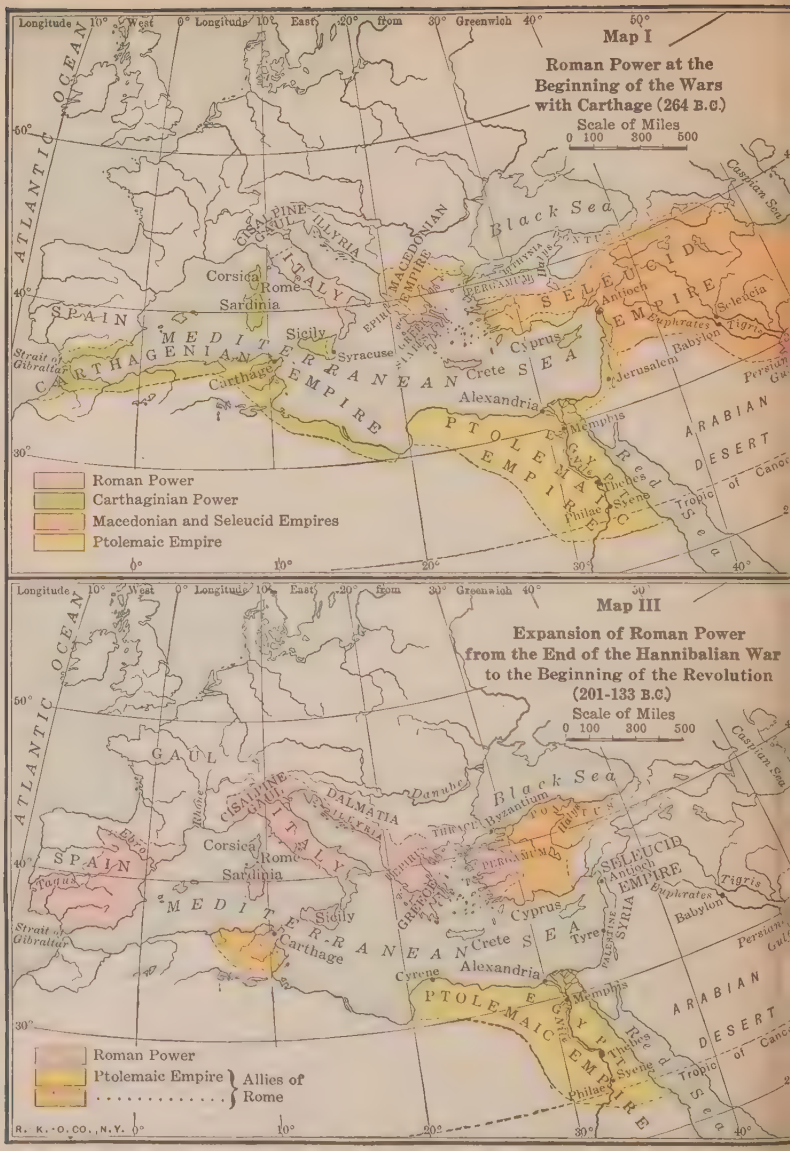
WORLD DOMINION AND DEGENERACY

Section 58. The Roman Conquest of the Eastern Mediterranean World

565. Defeat of Macedonia at Cynoscephalæ (197 B.C.)

While the heirs of Alexander were carrying on their ceaseless wars and alliances in the eastern Mediterranean, down to about 200 B.C. (Section 48), the vast power of Rome had been slowly rising in the West. We remember that Hannibal had induced Macedonia to combine with him against Rome (§ 555). This hostile step could not be overlooked by the Romans, and hence a year after the close of the Hannibalian War, a later Philip of Macedon found himself face to face with a Roman army. On the field of Cynoscephalæ (dog's heads), in 197 B.C., the Macedonian army was disastrously routed, and the ancient realm of Alexander the Great became a vassal state under Rome. As allies of Rome (§ 530), the Greek states were then granted their freedom by the Romans.

Note. The above fragment of a wall-painting at Pompeii shows us a Roman warship, seemingly in battle, for the wreck of another warship is visible at the left. Notice the two steering *oars* at each side of the stern — a device found on Nile ships three thousand years earlier (Fig. 13). The rudder had not yet developed from these steering oars. The Romans ascribed their success, in spite of inexperience, against the Carthaginians to a new boarding grappler, which they invented and called a "crow" (*corvus*). It consisted of a heavy upright timber, which was made to fall over with the end on the enemy's rail, where an iron hook attached to the end of the "crow" grappled and held the opposing craft until the Romans could climb over into it. In the hand-to-hand fighting which followed, the sturdy Romans more than made up for their inexperience in seamanship.


Map I
Roman Power at the Beginning of the Wars with Carthage (264 B.C.)
Scale of Miles
0 100 300 500
Roman Power
Carthaginian Power
Macedonian and Seleucid Empires
Ptolemaic Empire
Map III
Expansion of Roman Power from the End of the Hannibalian War to the Beginning of the Revolution (201-133 B.C.)
Scale of Miles
0 100 300 500
Roman Power
Ptolemaic Empire
Allies of Rome
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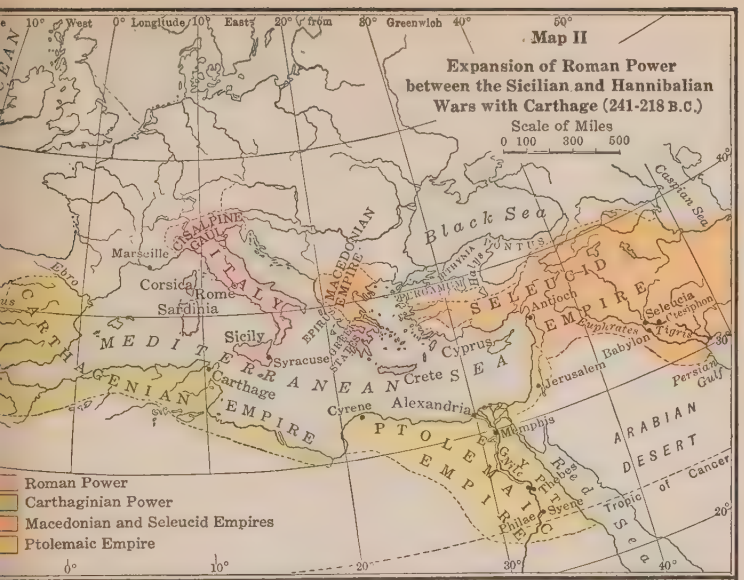
SEQUENCE MAP SHOWING THE EXPANSION OF THE ROMAN POWE
TO THE DEATH


Map II
Expansion of Roman Power between the Sicilian and Hannibalian Wars with Carthage (241-218 B.C.)
Scale of Miles
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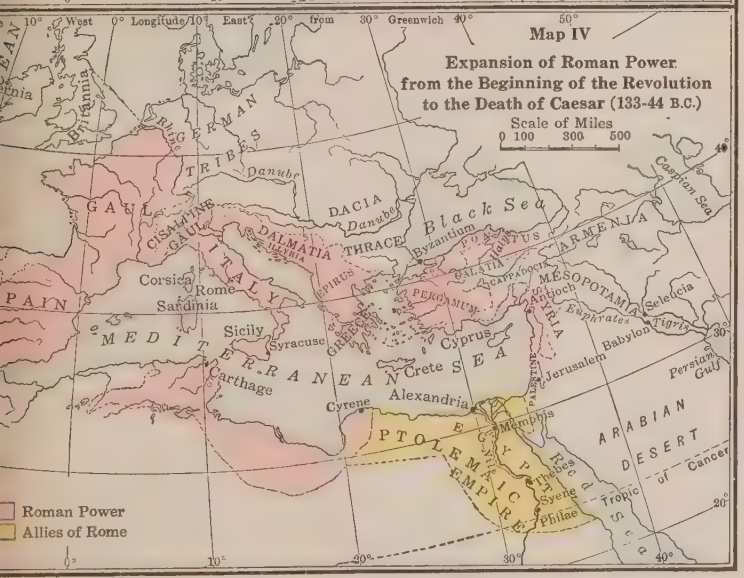
Roman Power
Carthaginian Power
Macedonian and Seleucid Empires
Ptolemaic Empire


Map IV
Expansion of Roman Power from the Beginning of the Revolution to the Death of Caesar (133-44 B.C.)
Scale of Miles
0 100 300 500
Roman Power
Allies of Rome

I THE BEGINNING OF THE WARS WITH CARTHAGE (264 B.C.)
AR (44 B.C.)

566. Defeat of the Seleucid empire at Magnesia (190 B.C.)

This war with Macedon brought the Romans into conflict with Antiochus the Great, the Seleucid king, who held a large part of the vast empire of Persia in Asia. A war with this powerful Asiatic empire was not a matter which the Romans could view without great anxiety. Moreover, Hannibal, a fugitive from Carthage (§ 562), was with Antiochus, advising him. Nevertheless at Magnesia in Asia Minor, the West led by Rome overthrew the East led by Antiochus (190 B.C.), and the lands of Asia Minor eastward to the Halys River submitted to Roman control. Under the ensuing treaty Antiochus was not permitted to cross the Halys River westward or to send a warship west of the same longitude.

567. The three empires of Alexander's successors all become vassals of Rome (200–168 B.C.)

Within twelve years (200 to 189 B.C.) Roman arms had reduced to the condition of vassal states *two* of the three great empires which succeeded Alexander in the East — Macedonia and Syria (see Map III, p. 288). As for Egypt, the *third*, a little over thirty years after a Roman army had first appeared in the Hellenistic world, Egypt also acknowledged herself a vassal of Rome (168 B.C.).

568. Annihilation of Macedon and the subjection of the Greeks

Although defeated, the eastern Mediterranean world, including the Greeks, long continued to give the Romans much trouble. Then the Romans began harsh remedies. The same year which saw the destruction of Carthage witnessed the burning of Corinth also by the Romans (146 B.C.). Greek liberty was ended, and while a city of such revered memories as Athens might be given greater freedom, those Greek states whose careers of glorious achievement in civilization we have followed were all reduced to the condition of Roman vassals.

569. Rome's great task of imperial organization

The Roman Senate had shown fine ability in conducting the great wars. But now Rome was faced by the problem of furnishing successful government for the vast dominions which she had conquered in three generations. In extent they would have reached entirely across the United States. To organize such an empire was a task like that which had been so successfully accomplished by Darius, the organizer of the Persian

Empire (§ 160). We shall find that the Roman Senate utterly failed in the effort to organize the new dominions. Let us now examine the unsuccessful efforts of Rome to govern her new conquests and then observe the disastrous effect of the long wars and of such world power on the Romans and their life.

Section 59. Roman Government and Civilization in the Age of Conquest

570. Establishment of Roman provinces; unlimited power and corruption of the Roman provincial governors

The Romans had at first no experience in governing their conquered lands. Most of the newly conquered countries were organized by them as provinces — each province under a Roman governor. Such a governor possessed unlimited power like that of an oriental king. He had complete control of all the taxes of the province, and he could take what he needed from its people to support his Roman troops and the expenses of his government. He was generally without experience in provincial government. He was eager to gain a fortune in his short term of office, usually a single year, and in his complete ignorance of the needs of his province his government often became a mere system of looting and robbery. The Senate soon found it necessary to have laws passed for the punishment of such abuses; but these laws were found to be of little use in improving the situation.

571. Looting of the provinces by Roman business men

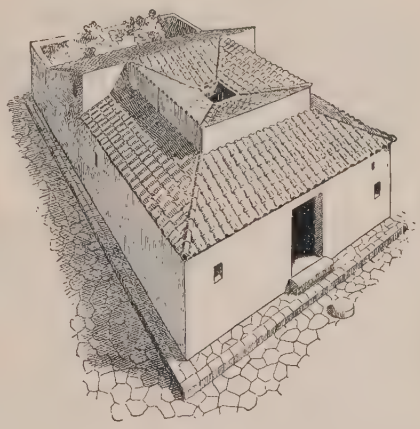
The evil effects of this situation were soon apparent. The provinces were filled with Roman business men, whom we would call "loan-sharks." There were contractors called *publicans*, who were allowed to collect the taxes for the State at a great profit. We remember the common references to these publicans in the New Testament, where they are regularly classified with "sinners." These men of money plundered the provinces worse than the greedy Roman governors themselves.

As these people returned to Italy, there grew up a wealthy class such as had been unknown there before. Their ability to buy resulted in a vast import trade to supply the demand.

From the Bay of Naples to the mouth of the Tiber the sea was white with the sails of Roman ships converging on the docks of Rome. The men who controlled all this traffic became wealthy merchants. To handle all the money in circulation, banks were required. During the Hannibalian War the first banks appeared at Rome, occupying a line of booths on each side of the Forum. Under these influences Rome greatly changed.

572. Rise of a wealthy class at Rome; banking and capitalism

When a returned governor of Africa put up a showy new house, the citizen across the way who still lived in his father's old house began to be dissatisfied with it. It was built of sun-dried brick, and, like the old settler's cabin of early America, it had but one room, called the *atrium* (Fig. 104). The Roman citizen of the new age had long before been familiar with the comfort, luxury, and beauty with which the Greek houses of southern Italy were filled (§§ 463, 468). He therefore soon added a colonnaded Hellenistic court (Figs. 105, 106), with adjoining dining room, bedrooms, library, rest rooms, and kitchen.



573. The wealthy Roman's new modern house

FIG. 104. AN OLD ROMAN ATRIUM-HOUSE

There was no attempt at beautiful architecture, and the bare front showed no adornment whatever. The opening in the roof, which lighted the atrium (§ 573), received the rainfall of a section of the roof sloping toward it, and this water collected in a pool built to receive it in the floor of the atrium below (Fig. 105, *B*). The tiny area, or garden, shown in the rear was not common. It was here that the later Romans added the Hellenistic peristyle (Figs. 93 and 105)

574. The luxurious furnishings and adornment of the wealthy Roman's house

Not long before the Carthaginian wars an ex-consul had been fined for having more than ten pounds' weight of silverware in his house. A generation later a wealthy Roman was using in his household silverware which weighed some ten thousand pounds. One of the Roman conquerors of Macedonia entered Rome with two hundred and fifty wagonloads of Greek statues and paintings. Even in so small a city as Pompeii, a citizen of wealth paved a handsome dining alcove with a magnificent mosaic picture of Alexander in battle (Fig. 91), which had once formed a floor in a splendid Hellenistic house in Alexandria (§ 463). The atrium thus became a large and stately reception hall where the master of the house could display his wealth in statues, paintings, and other works of art — the splendid trophies of war brought by the Romans from the East (see Fig. 74, description).

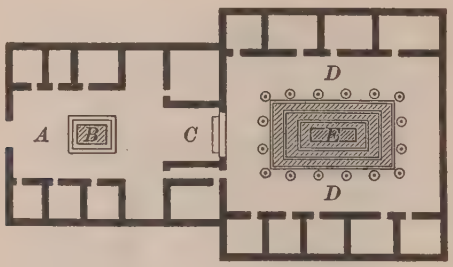


FIG. 105. PLAN OF A ROMAN HOUSE WITH PERISTYLE

The earliest Roman house had consisted of a single room, the atrium (*A*), with the pool for the rain water (*B*). Then a small alcove, or lean-to, was erected at the rear (*C*), as a room for the master of the house. Later the bedrooms on each side of the atrium were added. Finally, under the influence of Greek life (§ 573), the garden court (*D* and Fig. 106), with its surrounding colonnaded porch (peristyle; cf. Fig. 93) and a fountain in the middle (*E*), was built at the rear. Then a dining room, sitting room, and bedrooms were added, which opened on this court, and, being without windows, they were lighted from the court through the doors. In town houses it was quite easy to partition off a shop, or even a whole row of shops, along the front or side of the house, as in the Hellenistic house (Fig. 93). The houses of Pompeii (Fig. 106) were almost all built in this way

Pipes for running water, baths, and sanitary conveniences were likewise quickly introduced. Some houses even had tile

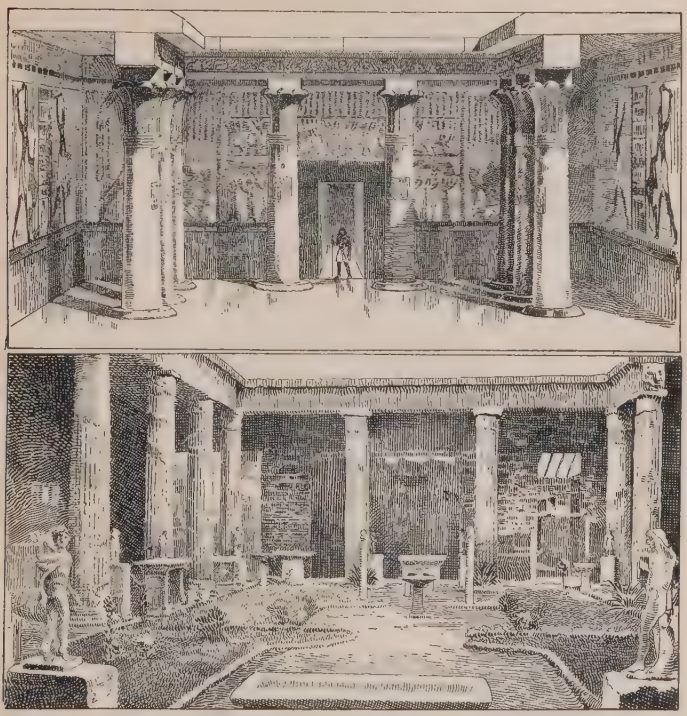


FIG. 106. PERISTYLE OF A POMPEIAN HOUSE (BELOW) AND ITS EGYPTIAN ANCESTOR (ABOVE; SEE FIG. 21)

We must imagine ourselves standing with our backs toward the atrium (having immediately behind us the room *C* in Fig. 105). We look out into the court, the garden of the house (Fig. 105, *D*). The marble tables and statues and the marble fountain basin in the middle (Fig. 105, *E*), just as we see them here in the drawing, were all found by the excavators in their places, as they were covered by volcanic ashes over eighteen hundred years ago (Fig. 116). Here centered the family life, and here the children played about the court, brightened with flowers and the tinkling music of the fountains

575. The new conveniences and luxuries of the wealthy Roman household

pipes conducting hot air for warmth, the earliest system of hot-air heating yet found. The kitchen was furnished with beautiful bronze utensils, far better than those commonly found in our own kitchens.

576. Numerous household servants chiefly slaves

Such luxury required a great body of household servants. There was a doorkeeper at the front door (he was called "janitor" from the Latin word *janua*, meaning "door"), and from the front door inward there was a servant for every small duty in the house. Almost all these menials were slaves.

577. Influence of works of Greek art and architecture in Rome

While the effect of all this luxury introduced from the East was on the whole very bad, nevertheless the former plain, matter-of-fact life of the Roman citizen was stimulated and refined by the most beautiful works of Greek art. Hellenistic buildings were beginning to appear in Rome, and it was not long, too, before a Greek theater was erected, improved by the Romans with awnings, a stage curtain, and seats in the orchestra circle where once the Greek chorus had sung (see Plate, p. 144).

578. Andronicus and his translations of Greek literature into Latin (240–207 B.C.)

At the close of the Sicilian War (241 B.C.) a Greek slave from southern Italy named Andronicus was given his freedom by his master at Rome. Seeing the interest of the Romans in Greek literature, he translated the Odyssey (§ 233) into Latin as a schoolbook for Roman children. For their elders he likewise rendered into Latin the classic tragedies which we have seen in Athens (§ 369), and also a number of Attic comedies (§ 372). Through his work the materials and the forms of Greek literature began to enter Roman life.

579. Greek influences in the new education in Rome

The Romans had been accustomed to do very little in the way of educating their children. There were no schools at first, but the good old Roman custom had been for the father to instruct his own children. Gradually parents began to send their children to the schools which the freed Greek slaves of Rome were beginning to open there. Here and there a household possessed an educated Greek slave, like Andronicus, who became the tutor of the children, teaching his pupils to read from the new primer of Andronicus, as we may call his Latin translation of Homer. Besides hearing Greek teachers of renown who now and then appeared and lectured in Rome, a young Roman noble would often complete his higher education in Athens itself (§ 481).

Poets and writers of history now arose in Italy under the influence of Greek literature. Educated Romans could read of the great deeds of their ancestors in long epic poems modeled on those of Homer. In such literature were gradually recorded the picturesque legends of early Rome, like the story of Romulus and Remus and similar tales (p. 254, Note). Imitating the Greek comedies (§ 372), new Latin play-writers also produced very clever comedies caricaturing the society of Rome, to which the Romans listened with uproarious delight.

580. Rise of Latin literature under the influence of Greek literature

As the new Latin literature grew, papyrus rolls bearing Latin works were more and more common in Rome. One of the Roman conquerors of Macedon brought back the books of the Macedonian king, and founded the first private library in Rome. Wealthy Romans of education were now providing library rooms in their houses (§ 573), and they spoke Greek almost as well as Latin.

581. Libraries, and the educated class

Section 60. Degeneration in City and Country

The new life of Greek culture and luxury brought with it many evils. Cato, one of the hardiest of the old-fashioned Romans, and other Romans like him, succeeded in passing law after law against expensive habits of many kinds, such as the growing love of showy jewelry among the women, or their use of carriages where they formerly went on foot. But such laws could not prevent the slow corruption of the people. The greatest days of Roman character were past, and Roman power was to go on growing, without the restraining influence of old Roman virtue.

582. Corrupting influences of the new luxury; laws against extravagance

This was especially evident in the lives of the uneducated and poorer classes. Early in the wars with Carthage there had been introduced an old Etruscan custom of single combats between condemned criminals or slaves, who fought to honor the funeral of some great Roman. These fighters came to be called "swordsmen" (*gladiators*, from a Latin word *gladius*,

583. Gladiatorial combats as a political influence

meaning "sword"). Officials in charge of the various public feasts, without waiting for a funeral, used to arrange a long program of such combats, sure of pleasing the people, gaining their votes and thus securing election to future higher offices. These barbarous and bloody spectacles took place in a great stone structure, called an amphitheater, because it was formed by placing two (*amphi*) theaters face to face (Fig. 119). Soon afterward combats between gladiators and wild beasts were introduced (headpiece, p. 301). The Romans also began to build enormous courses for chariot races, surrounded by seats for vast numbers of spectators. Such a building was called a *circus*.

584. Distribution of free grain to the poor, and bribery

The common people of Rome were thus gradually debased. At the same time, as their poverty increased, the State arranged regular distributions of grain to the populace. A far greater evil was the bribery which the candidates for office now secretly practiced. Laws passed to prevent the practice were of slight effect. Henceforth we have only too often the spectacle of a Roman candidate controlling the government that ruled the world by bribing the little body of citizens who attended the Roman assemblies.

585. Expenses of a political career; lack of a civil service

All these practices enormously increased the expenses of a political career. The young Roman politician was now often obliged to borrow money to pay for a long program of gladiatorial games. In secret he might also spend a large sum in bribing voters. If elected he received no salary, and in carrying on the business of his office he was again obliged to meet heavy expenses, for he had to supply a staff of clerks for government business at his own expense.

586. Growth of self-interest; the unrepublican character of returned provincial governors

The Roman politician now sought office, chiefly in order that through it he might gain the influence which would bring him the governorship of a rich province. When a retired provincial governor returned to Rome, he was no longer the simple Roman of the good old days. He lived like a prince and surrounded himself with royal luxury. These men of self-interest, who had held the supreme power in a province, were a menace

to the republic, for they had tasted the power of kings without the restraints of Roman law and Roman republican institutions to hamper them.

587. Growth of great estates; decline of the small farms

The evils of the new wealth were not less evident outside of Rome. It was not thought proper for a Roman senator or noble to undertake commercial enterprises or to engage in any business. The most respectable form of wealth was lands. Hence the successful Roman noble or capitalist bought farm after farm, which he combined into a great estate or plantation. Only here and there were still to be found groups of the little farms of the good old Roman days. Large portions of Italy were in this condition. The small farm seemed in a fair way to disappear.

588. Captives of war as slaves

It was impossible for a wealthy landowner to work these great estates with free, hired labor. Nor was he obliged to do so. From the close of the Hannibalian War onward the Roman conquests had brought to Italy great numbers of captives of war. These unhappy prisoners were sold as slaves. The estates of Italy were now filled with them. The life of such slaves on the great plantations which they worked was little better than that of beasts. When the supply of captives from the wars failed, the Roman government winked at the practices of slave pirates, who carried on wholesale kidnaping in the Ægean and eastern Mediterranean for years.

589. Slave revolts and disorders

Thus Italy and Sicily were fairly flooded with slaves. The brutal treatment which they received was so unbearable that at various places in Italy they finally rose against their masters. In central and southern Sicily the revolting slaves gathered some sixty thousand in number, slew their masters, captured towns, and set up a kingdom. It required a Roman consul at the head of an army and a war lasting several years to subdue them.

590. Destruction of farms and farm life in Italy by war

Slave labor and the great wars were meantime destroying the small farmers of Italy. Never has there been an age in which the terrible and desolating results of war have so tragically revealed the awful cost of military glory. Fathers and elder sons had been absent from home for years holding their

posts in the legions, fighting the battles which had brought Rome her great position as mistress of the world. Home life and wholesome country influences were undermined and broken up. The mothers, left to bring up the younger children alone, saw the family scattered and drifting away from the little farm, till it was left forsaken.

591. The small farms bought up by wealthy plantation owners

Too often as the returning soldier approached the spot where he was born he no longer found the house that had sheltered his childhood. His family was gone and his little farm, sold for debt, had been bought up by some wealthy Roman of the city and absorbed into a great plantation. His neighbors, too, had disappeared and their farms had likewise gone to enlarge the rich man's great estate. He cursed the wealth which had done all this, and wandered up to the great city to look for free grain from the government, to enjoy the games and circuses, and to increase the poor class already there.

592. Inability of the farmer to compete with slave labor; decline of agriculture in Italy

Or if he found his home and his little farm uninjured, he was soon aware that the hordes of slaves now cultivating the great plantations around him were producing grain more cheaply than he. When he had sold his harvest he had not received enough for it to enable him and his family to live. Forced to sell the little farm at last, he too wandered into Rome, where he found thousands upon thousands of his kind homeless, embittered, and dependent upon the State for food. These once sturdy farmer-citizens had made up the bulk of the citizenship of Rome, from whose ranks she had drawn her splendid armies. These men who had furnished the military power upon which the Roman Senate had built up its world empire were now perishing.

593. Economic and agricultural decline in Greece; decline of Hellenistic civilization

Nor was the situation any better in the most civilized portions of the empire outside of Italy, and especially in Greece. Under the large plantation system the Greek farmers had disappeared, as those of Italy were now beginning to do. To this condition we must add: first the robberies and extortions of the Roman taxgatherers and governors (§§ 570–571); second the continuous slave raids of the Ægean pirates, whose pillaging and

kidnaping the Roman Republic criminally failed to prevent (§ 588); and third the shift of Greek commerce eastward (§ 461). These were reasons enough for the destruction of business, of agriculture, and of prosperity in the Greek world. At the same time, that wondrous development of higher civilization which we found in the Hellenistic world (Section 49) was likewise showing signs of decline.

594. Failure of Roman government of the Mediterranean world; perilous situation of civilization

The failure of the Roman Senate to organize a successful government for the empire they had conquered, — a government even as good as that of Persia under Darius (§ 160), — this failure had brought the whole world of Mediterranean civilization dangerously near destruction. In the European background beyond the Alpine frontiers there were rumblings of vast movements among the northern barbarians, threatening to descend as of old and completely overwhelm the civilization which for over three thousand years had been slowly built up by Orientals and Greeks and Romans in the Mediterranean world. It now looked very much as if the Roman State was about to perish, and with it the civilization which had been growing for so many centuries. Was civilized man indeed to perish from the earth? Or would the Roman State be able to survive and to preserve civilization from destruction?

595. The failure of the city-state in imperial government

Rome was a city-state. But among the Greeks this very limited form of state had outlived its usefulness and had over and over again proved its inability to organize and control successfully a larger world; that is, an empire. Would the city-state of the Roman Republic be able to transform itself into a great imperial State, with all the many offices necessary to give successful government to the peoples and nations surrounding the Mediterranean? Would it then be able to do for the Mediterranean world what the Persian Empire had once done for a world equally large in Western Asia and Egypt?

We stand at the point where the civilization of the Hellenistic world began to decline, after the destruction of Carthage and Corinth (146 B.C.). We are now to watch the Roman

596. The responsibility of Rome to organize and defend the civilization of the Mediterranean world

people struggling with three difficult and dangerous problems at the same time: *first*, the deadly internal hostility which we have seen growing up between rich and poor; *second*, the organization of successful Roman government of the Mediterranean world while the dangerous internal struggle was going on; and *third*, in the midst of these grave responsibilities, the invasions of the barbarian hordes of the North. In spite of all these threatening dangers, we shall see Rome gaining the needed imperial organization which enabled the Roman State to hurl back the Northern barbarians, to hold the northern frontiers for five hundred years, and thus to shield and preserve the civilization which had cost mankind so many centuries of slow progress — the civilization which, because it was so preserved by the Roman Empire, has become our own inheritance to-day. This achievement of Rome we are now to follow in the final chapters of the story of the ancient world.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 58. After the Hannibalian War what happened between Rome and Macedonia? between Rome and the Seleucid empire? What became of the three empires of Alexander's successors?

SECTION 59. How did Rome organize the conquered lands? What kind of rule did she give them? Contrast the old and the new Roman houses. Discuss the new furnishings and conveniences; the incoming works of Greek art; of Greek literature. What was the result as to education? as to Latin literature? Discuss libraries at Rome.

SECTION 60. Describe the effect of the new luxury on the Romans. What forms of public entertainment arose? Discuss treatment of the poor and expenses of a political career. What was the Roman politician's chief object? How did the new wealth affect land ownership? Discuss slavery. What happened to the small farmers in Italy? in Greece? What was now required of the city-state? What great dangers now threatened Rome?

CHAPTER XVII

A CENTURY OF REVOLUTION AND THE END OF THE REPUBLIC

Section 61. The Land Situation and the Beginning of the Struggle between Senate and People

597. The dangerous situation to be met by the Senate

We must now take up the difficult problems demanding settlement by the Roman Senate. *In Italy* there was in the first place the perilous condition of the surviving farmers (§§ 587–592) and the need of increasing in some way their numbers and their farms. Equally dangerous was the discontent of the Italian allies, who had never been given the vote or the right to hold office (§ 530). The problems *outside of Italy* were not less pressing. They were, likewise, two in number. There was first the thoroughgoing reform of provincial government and the creation of a system of honest and successful administration of the great Roman Empire. And second

Note. The relief above, found in the Theater of Marcellus, built by Augustus, gives us a very vivacious glimpse of a battle between gladiators and wild beasts, just as the Romans saw it. The gladiators in this combat wear only a tunic and have no defensive armor except a helmet and a shield. Note the expression of pain on the face of the gladiator at the left, whose arm is being lacerated by the lion.

there was the settlement of the frontier boundaries of the Empire and the repulse of the invading barbarians who were threatening to crush the Mediterranean world and its civilization, as the prehistoric Greeks had crushed Ægean civilization (§ 216).

598. The struggle between Senate and people; Tiberius Gracchus, tribune (133 B.C.)

The crying needs of the farming class in Italy failed to produce any effect upon the blinded and selfish aristocrats of the Senate as a whole. The unselfish patriot who undertook to become the leader of the people against the Senate and to save Italy from destruction by restoring the farmer class was a noble named Tiberius Gracchus. He was a grandson of Scipio, the hero of Zama. Elected tribune (133 B.C.), he used to address the people with passionate eloquence and tell them of their wrongs: "The beasts that prowl about Italy have holes and lurking places, where they may make their beds. You who fight and die for Italy enjoy only the blessings of air and light. These alone are your heritage. Homeless, unsettled, you wander to and fro with your wives and children. . . . You fight and die to give wealth and luxury to others. You are called the masters of the world; yet there is no clod of earth that you can call your own."

599. Land laws of Tiberius Gracchus and his death (132 B.C.)

As tribune, Tiberius Gracchus brought before the Assembly a law for the reassignment of public lands and the protection and support of the farming class. It was a statesmanlike and moderate law. It was an endeavor to do for Italy what Solon had done for Attica (§§ 287–289), and was decidedly more moderate than the legislation of Solon. In the effort to secure reëlection, that he might insure the *enforcement* of his law, Gracchus was slain by a mob of senators, who rushed out of the Senate house and attacked him and his supporters. This was the first murderous deed introducing a century of revolution and civil war (133–31 B.C.), which terminated in the destruction of the Roman Republic.

Ten years after the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus, his younger brother Gaius gained the same office (123 B.C.). He not only took up the struggle on behalf of the landless farmers,

but he made it his definite object to attack and weaken the Senate. At the same time he proposed to give to the Italian allies the long-desired full citizenship — a proposal which angered the people as much as it did the Senate. His efforts finally resulted in a riot in which Gaius Gracchus was killed, as his brother had been (121 B.C.).

600. Struggle of Gaius Gracchus with the Senate and his death (123–121 B.C.)

Section 62. The Rise of One-Man Power: Marius and Sulla

The weakness in the reforms of the Gracchus brothers lay chiefly in their necessary reliance upon votes. If the elections came when work on the farms was pressing, the country people around Rome would not take the time to go up to the city and vote, although they were the very ones to be benefited by the Gracchan laws. Nevertheless the work of the Gracchus brothers had taught the people to look up to a leader. This tendency was the beginning of one-man power. But the leader to whom the people now turned was not a magistrate, as the Gracchus brothers had been, but a *military commander.*

601. Unreliability of popular support

The misrule of the Senate abroad so angered the people that the Assembly passed a law appointing their own general to supersede a general appointed by the Senate in a foreign war. *The people by this action seized control of the army.* The Senate was unable to prevent the Assembly's action from going into effect. The interests of the people were no longer dependent wholly upon *civil* magistrates, changing from election to election, but upon *military force* under a leader who might be given a long command.

602. The appointment of the people's commander against the Senate

The commander on whom the people relied was himself a man of the people, named Marius, who had once been a rough plowboy. He was fortunately an able soldier and Rome needed his abilities. Two powerful tribes of German barbarians, the Cimbrians and the Teutons, combined with Gauls, had been shifting southward and crossing the northern frontiers of Rome.

603. Marius, the people's commander, defeats the German barbarians

Six Roman armies, one after another, had been disastrously defeated. It looked as if the Roman legions had at last met their match. There was great anxiety in Rome, and the people reëlected Marius consul and sent him against the terrible northern barbarians. In two great battles in the north the people's hero not only defeated but almost destroyed the German hosts (102 B.C.). A soldier of the people had saved Rome.

604. Marius abolishes property qualification for military service; the rise of a professional army

Marius was not only an able soldier, but he was also a great organizer. In order to secure sufficient men for the legions, he abolished the old custom of allowing only citizens of property to serve in the army, and he took in the poor and the penniless. Such men soon became professional soldiers. As once in Greece (§ 398), so now in Rome, the day of the citizen-soldier had passed. The law that every Roman citizen must serve in the army was less and less rigidly enforced.

605. Failure of Marius as a statesman; the Senate regains leadership

But in spite of his ability as a soldier and as an army organizer, Marius was not a statesman. Having risen from the ranks, he was at heart a rough Roman peasant. As a political leader he failed completely, and the Senate gained the upper hand again. Then Marius retired in disgrace, but his leadership had revealed to the people how they might gain control over the Senate by combining on a *military* leader, whose power, therefore, did not consist in the peaceful enforcement of the laws and usages of the Roman State, but in the illegal application of military force.

606. Disunion in Italy and discontent of the Italian allies

While the struggle between Senate and people was going on, there was increasing discontent among the Italian allies (§ 530). They had contributed as many troops to the army which conquered the Empire as had Rome herself, and now they were refused any voice in the control of that Empire or any share in the immense wealth which they saw the Romans drawing from it. But the possession of this Empire had corrupted and blinded the Senate and the governing community at Rome. The great peninsula was still filled with disunited communities (§ 532), and Rome had not yet succeeded in making Italy a nation.

There were, happily, some statesmanlike Roman leaders, who planned that the Italian allies should receive citizenship. Among them was a wealthy and popular noble named Drusus, who gained election as tribune and began to take measures leading to the enfranchisement of the Italian allies. But so fierce and savage was the opposition aroused, both in the Senate and among the people, that this great Roman statesman was stabbed in the street. Thereupon the leading Italian communities of central and southern Italy revolted and formed a new state and government of their own, with a capital at a central town which they impressively renamed Italica (90 B.C.).

607. Blind exclusiveness of the Romans and assassination of Drusus (91 B.C.)

Defeated at first in the war which followed, the Romans tardily took action and granted the desired citizenship. The Italian communities then rejoined the Roman State. Yet they entered it as distant wards of the city on the Tiber. The citizens residing in these distant wards could not vote or take any part in the government unless they journeyed to Rome to do so. This situation was of course an absurdity, and again illustrated the inability of an ancient city-state to furnish the machinery of government for a large nation, not to mention a world empire. Nevertheless, Italy was now on the way to become a nation unified in government and in speech.

608. War with allies (Social War, 90–88 B.C.); citizenship given to all Italy

At the head of an army he had just been leading against the Italian allies was a former officer of Marius, named Sulla. The Senate now selected him to command in a war then coming on in Asia Minor. But the leaders of the people would not accept the Senate's appointment, and they passed a law electing Marius to this command. Now Marius had no army at the moment, but Sulla, being still at the head of his army, ignored the law passed by the people and marched on Rome with his troops. For the first time a Roman consul took possession of the city *by force.* The *Senate* was now putting through its will with an army, as the *Assembly* had before done. Sulla forced through a new law by which the Assembly would always be obliged to secure the consent of the Senate before it could

609. Rise of Sulla; a consul sustains the Senate and defeats the will of the people with an army

vote on any measure. Having thus destroyed the power of the people legally to oppose the will of the Senate, Sulla marched off to his command in Asia Minor.

610. Restoration of people's control in Sulla's absence; war and murder in the streets of Rome; death of Marius (86 B.C.)

The Senate had triumphed, but with the departure of Sulla and his legions the people refused to submit. Marius, having entered Rome with troops, began a frightful massacre of the leading men of the senatorial party. The Senate, the first to sow seeds of violence in the murder of Tiberius Gracchus (§ 599), now reaped a fearful harvest. Marius was elected consul for the seventh time, but he died a few days after his election (86 B.C.). Meantime the people ruled in Rome until the day of reckoning which was sure to come on the return of Sulla.

611. Victory of Sulla over the armies of the Roman people; he deprives the people of political power and gives the Senate supreme leadership (82–79 B.C.)

Having finished a victorious campaign in Asia Minor, Sulla returned to Rome. On the way the Roman army of Sulla defeated the Roman armies of the people, one after another, and Sulla entered Rome as master of the State, *without any legal power to justify such mastery*. By means of his army he forced his own appointment as Dictator (82 B.C.). His first action was to begin the systematic slaughter of the leaders of the people's party and the confiscation of their property. Then he forced the passage of a whole series of new laws which deprived the Assembly and the tribunes of their power, and gave the supreme leadership of the State to the Senate. This body had already disastrously failed to guide Rome wisely since the great conquests, and a policy based on the supremacy of the Senate was therefore doomed to failure.

Section 63. The Overthrow of the Republic: Pompey and Cæsar

612. People elect Pompey consul and regain power (70 B.C.)

Following the death of Sulla, the people's party at once began agitation for the repeal of his hateful laws, which bound the people and the tribunes hand and foot. The people had now learned that they must have a *military* leader. They found him

in a former officer of Sulla, named Pompey. He was elected consul (70 B.C.) chiefly because he agreed to repeal the obnoxious laws of Sulla. He kept his promise, and this service to the people then secured to Pompey a military command of great importance.

613. Extermination of the pirates, and conquests in the Orient by Pompey (67–62 B.C.)

Such was the neglect of the Senate to protect shipping that the pirates of the East had overrun the whole Mediterranean (§ 588). They even appeared at the mouth of the Tiber, robbing and burning. In 67 B.C. the Assembly of the people passed a law giving Pompey supreme command in the Mediterranean. He quickly cleared the whole Mediterranean of pirates. When his command was enlarged to include Asia Minor and Syria, he crushed the remnant of the kingdom of the Seleucids (§ 459) and made Syria a Roman province. He entered Jerusalem and brought the home of the Jews under Roman control. Before he turned back, the legions under his leadership had marched along the Euphrates and had looked down upon the Caspian. There had been no such conquests in the Orient since the Macedonian campaigns, and to the popular imagination Pompey seemed a new Alexander marching in triumph through the East.

FIG. 107. BUST SAID TO BE A PORTRAIT OF JULIUS CÆSAR

The ancient portraits commonly accepted as those of Julius Cæsar are really of uncertain identity

614. Rise of Cæsar

Meantime a new popular hero had arisen at Rome. He was a nephew of Marius, named Julius Cæsar (Fig. 107), born in the year 100 B.C., and he quickly gained a foremost place among the leaders of the people.

615. Cæsar compromised by Catiline; triumph of the consul Cicero (63 B.C.)

Cæsar, however, met one serious setback. Catiline, a senator of evil reputation, whom Cæsar had supported for the consulship, was defeated. Catiline gathered about him a large body of dangerous followers and tried to seize the government. He failed because of the vigilance of the consul, the great orator Cicero (§ 653), and died fighting at the head of his outlawed followers. Cæsar was suspected of connection with this uprising of Catiline, and the suspicion seriously affected his political career.

616. Return of Pompey; Cæsar elected consul (59 B.C.)

When Pompey returned to Italy, hailed as the great conqueror of the Orient, he needed political influence to secure the Senate's formal approval of his actions in Asia Minor, and a grant of land for his troops. For two years the Senate refused Pompey these concessions. Then Cæsar, to gain the help of Pompey, stepped forward in Pompey's support, and the two secured the adherence to their plans of a very wealthy Roman noble named Crassus. This private alliance of these three powerful men (called a "triumvirate") gave them the control of the situation. As a result Cæsar was elected consul for the year 59 B.C.

617. Cæsar secures the government of Gaul on both sides of the Alps

The consulship was but a step in Cæsar's plans. Having fearlessly put through new land laws for the benefit of the people, Cæsar then provided for his own future career. It was clear to him that he must have an important military command in order to gain an army. He saw a great opportunity in the West, in the vast country now modern France, then occupied by the Gauls (see Map IV, p. 288), and the governorship of this region of Gaul was now sought by Cæsar. He had no difficulty in securing the passage of a law which made him for five years governor of Illyria and of Gaul on both sides of the Alps.

618. Cæsar's conquest of Gaul (58–50 B.C.)

Cæsar took charge of his new province early in 58 B.C., and at once showed himself a military commander of surpassing skill. In eight years of march and battle he subdued the Gauls and conquered their territory from the ocean and the English

Channel eastward to the Rhine. He even crossed the Channel and carried an invasion of Britain as far as the Thames. He added a vast dominion to the Roman Empire, comprising in general the territory of modern France and Belgium. We should not forget that his conquest brought Latin into France, as the ancestor from which French speech has descended (see Map IV, p. 288).

619. Cæsar's view of the situation as a statesman

Cæsar had shown himself at Rome a successful politician. In Gaul he proved his ability as a brilliant soldier. Was he also a great statesman, or was he, like Pompey, merely to seek a succession of military commands and to accomplish nothing to deliver Rome from being the helpless plaything of one military commander after another? Cæsar's understanding of the situation at Rome was perfectly clear. The old machinery of government furnished by the republic possessed no means of preventing the rise in the provinces of one ambitious general after another to fight for control of the State as Marius and Sulla had done. The republic could therefore never again restore order and stable government to Italy and the Empire.

620. Cæsar publishes an account of his Gallic Wars

The situation therefore demanded an able and patriotic commander with an army behind him who should make himself the undisputed and permanent master of the Roman government and subdue all other competitors. Cæsar therefore steadily pursued this aim. One of his cleverest moves was the publication of a history of his Gallic campaigns, which he had found time to write even in the midst of dangerous marches and critical battles. Although it is one of the greatest works of Latin prose, the book was really a political pamphlet, intended to tell the Roman people the story of the vast conquests which they owed to their governor in Gaul. It did not fail of its purpose. At present it is the best-known Latin reading book for beginners in that language.

When Cæsar's second term as governor of Gaul drew near its end, his supporters in Rome, instructed by him, were arranging for his second election to the consulship. The Senate,

621. Pompey at Rome takes up the cause of the Senate

dreading his return to Italy, was seeking a military leader like Sulla again. The leading senators therefore made offers to Pompey, in spite of the fact that thus far he had been a leader of the people's party. He was no statesman and was simply looking for a command. The result was that he undertook to defend the cause of the Senate. What should have been a lawful political contest, again became a military struggle between two commanding generals, Cæsar and Pompey, like that of Marius and Sulla a generation earlier.

622. Cæsar and his army of professional soldiers

Cæsar endeavored to compromise with the Senate, but on receiving as their reply a summons to disband his army, he had no hesitation as to his future action. The professional soldiers who now made up a Roman army had no interest in political questions, felt no responsibility as citizens, and were conscious of very little attachment to the State. On the other hand, they were usually greatly attached to their commanding general. The veterans of Cæsar's Gallic campaigns were unswervingly devoted to him. Before the Senate's message had been an hour in his hands Cæsar and his troops had crossed the Rubicon, the little stream which formed the boundary of his province toward Rome (49 B.C.). Beyond this boundary Cæsar had no legal right to lead his forces. In crossing it he had taken a step which became so memorable that we still speak of any great decision as a "crossing of the Rubicon."

623. Cæsar maneuvers Pompey out of Italy, and is elected consul (49 B.C.)

The swiftness of Cæsar's lightning blows was always one of the greatest reasons for his success. Totally unprepared for so swift a response on Cæsar's part, the Senate turned to Pompey, who informed them that the forces at his command could not hold Rome against Cæsar. As Pompey retreated the majority of the senators and a large number of nobles fled with him and his army. By skillful maneuvers Cæsar forced Pompey and his followers to forsake Italy and cross over to Greece. Being now in possession of Rome, Cæsar, after a brief dictatorship, was elected consul, and could then assume the rôle of lawful defender of Rome against the Senate and the army of Pompey.

624. Pompey's power. Cæsar captures Pompey's army in Spain (summer of 49 B.C.)

Cæsar's position, however, was not yet secure. Pompey could muster all the peoples and kingdoms of the Orient against Cæsar. Furthermore, he held the great fleet with which he had suppressed the pirates, and he was thus master of the sea. With all the East at his back, he was improving every moment to gather and discipline an army with which to crush Cæsar. Furthermore some of Pompey's officers held Spain. Cæsar was therefore obliged to reckon with the followers of Pompey on both sides, East and West. He determined to deal with the West first. With his customary swiftness he was in Spain by June (49 B.C.). Here he met the army of Pompey's commanders with maneuvers of such surprising cleverness that in a few weeks he cut off their supplies, surrounded them and forced them to surrender without fighting a battle.

625. Cæsar surprises the senatorial party by crossing to Greece (winter of 49–48 B.C.) and crushes Pompey at Pharsalus (48 B.C.)

Having heard of Cæsar's departure into Spain, Pompey and his great group of senators and nobles were preparing at their leisure to cross over and again take possession of Italy. Before they could even begin the crossing, Cæsar had returned from Spain victorious, and to their amazement, notwithstanding the fact that they controlled the sea, he embarked at Brundisium, evaded their warships, and landed his army on the coast of Epirus (see map, p. 124). After some reverses and in spite of his inferior numbers, Cæsar accepted battle with Pompey at Pharsalus, in Thessaly (48 B.C.).[1] Pompey was crushingly defeated and his army surrendered.

626. Cæsar completes the conquest of the Mediterranean world (48–45 B.C.)

Pompey then escaped into Egypt, where he was basely murdered. Cæsar, following Pompey to Egypt, found ruling there the beautiful Cleopatra, the seventh of the name, and the last of the Ptolemies. The charms of this remarkable queen and the political advantages of her friendship met a ready response on the part of the great Roman. We know little of the campaign by which Cæsar next overthrew his opponents in Asia Minor. It was from there that he sent his famous report to

[1] On the operations in this battle see *Ancient Times*, §§ 964–965, and Plan, p. 593.

the Senate: "I came, I saw, I conquered" (*veni, vidi, vici*). The only other obstacles to Cæsar's complete control of the empire of the world were all disposed of by March, 45 B.C., a little over four years after he had first taken possession of Italy with his army (Map IV, p. 288).

627. Cæsar's moderation and his own position

Cæsar used his power with great moderation and humanity. From the first he had taken great pains to show that his methods were not those of the bloody Sulla. It is clear that he intended his own position to be that of a Hellenistic sovereign like Alexander the Great. Nevertheless, he was too wise a statesman to abolish at once the outward forms of the Republic. He made his power seem legal by having himself made Dictator for life, and he assumed also the powers of the other leading offices of the State.

628. Cæsar's reorganization of the State and Empire

Cæsar lived only five years (49–44 B.C.) after his first conquest of Italy (49 B.C.). Of this period, as we have seen, four years were almost wholly occupied by campaigns. Little time was therefore left him for the colossal task of reshaping the Roman State and organizing the vast Roman Empire, the task in which the Roman Senate had so completely failed. Cæsar did not abolish the Senate, but he greatly increased its numbers and filled it with his own friends and adherents. He began far-reaching reforms of the corrupt Roman administration. In all this he was beginning the Roman Empire. He was in fact its first emperor, and only his untimely death continued the death struggles of the Republic for fifteen years more.

629. Cæsar's vast plans and improvements

He sketched vast plans for the rebuilding of Rome, he laid out great roads along the important lines of communication, and he planned to cut a sea canal through the Isthmus of Corinth (Fig. 69). He completely reformed the government of cities. He put an end to centuries of inconvenience with the Greco-Roman moon-calendar (§ 356) by introducing into Europe the practical Egyptian calendar (§ 36), which we are still using, though with inconvenient Roman alterations.

630. The assassination of Cæsar (March 15, 44 B.C.) and its results

But there were still men in Rome who were not ready to submit to the rule of one man. On the fifteenth of March, 44 B.C., three days before the date arranged for his departure on a great campaign beyond the Euphrates, these men struck down the greatest of the Romans. If some of his murderers, like Brutus and Cassius (headpiece, p. 316), fancied themselves patriots overthrowing a tyrant, they little understood how vain were all such efforts to restore the ancient Republic. World dominion and its military power had forever overturned the Roman Republic, and the murder of Cæsar again plunged Italy and the Empire into civil war.

Section 64. The Triumph of Augustus and the End of the Civil War

631. Youth of Cæsar's nephew, Octavian (Augustus)

Over in Illyria the terrible news from Rome found the murdered statesman's grand-nephew Octavian (Fig. 108), a youth of eighteen, quietly pursuing his studies. A letter from his mother, brought by a secret messenger, bade him flee far away eastward without delay, in order to escape all danger at the hands of his uncle's murderers. The youth's reply was to proceed without a moment's hesitation to Rome. This statesman-like decision of character reveals the quality of the young man both as he then showed it and for years to follow.

632. Early career of Octavian

On his arrival in Italy Octavian learned that he had been legally adopted by Cæsar and also made his sole heir. He was too young to be regarded as dangerous by Cæsar's enemies. But his young shoulders carried a very old head. He slowly gathered the threads of the tangled situation in his clever fingers, not forgetting the lessons of his adoptive father's career, — especially the necessity of military power. Then playing the game of politics, with several legions at his back, he showed himself a statesman no longer to be ignored. The murderers of Cæsar were defeated and slain in a great battle at Philippi (42 B.C.); and within ten years after Cæsar's

assassination this youth of twenty-eight gained complete control of Italy and the West.

633. Octavian overthrows Antony and gains the East (31 B.C.)

Cæsar's friend and lieutenant, Antony, with whom Octavian had joined hands, had meantime shown that he had no ability as a serious statesman. Dazzled by the attractions of Cleopatra, Antony was now living in Alexandria and Antioch, where he ruled the East as far as the Euphrates like an oriental sovereign. Octavian soon saw that he must be overthrown. He easily induced the Senate to declare war on Cleopatra, and thus he was able to advance against Antony. Just as Cæsar and Pompey, representing the East and the West, had once before faced each other on a battlefield in Greece (§ 625), so now Octavian and Antony, the leaders of the East and the West, met at Actium on the west coast of Greece. The outcome was a sweeping victory for the heir of Cæsar.

FIG. 108. PORTRAIT OF AUGUSTUS, NOW IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

634. Octavian makes Egypt a Roman province (30 B.C.), and ends a century of revolution and civil war (133–30 B.C.)

The next year Octavian landed in Egypt and took possession of that ancient land. Antony, probably forsaken by Cleopatra, took his own life. The proud queen too died by her own hand. She was the last of the Ptolemies (§ 458), the rulers of Egypt for nearly three hundred years, since Alexander the Great. Octavian therefore made Egypt Roman territory (30 B.C.). To the West, which he already controlled, Octavian had now added also the East. The lands under his control encircled the Mediterranean, and the entire Mediterranean world was under

the power of a single ruler. Thus at last the unity of the Roman dominions was restored and over a century of revolution and civil war, which had begun in the days of the Gracchi (133 B.C.), was ended (30 B.C.).

635. The beginning of two centuries of peace

Octavian's success marked the final triumph of one-man power in the entire ancient world, as it had long ago triumphed in the Orient. The century of strife which Octavian's victory ended was now followed by two centuries of profound peace. These were the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, beginning in 30 B.C.[1] We shall now take up these two centuries of peace in the two following chapters.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 61. What dangers now threatened Rome in Italy? outside of Italy? Tell the story of the Gracchus brothers.

SECTION 62. What was the weakness of popular support? How did the people gain more enduring power? Mention the achievements of Marius; his failures. What caused disunion in Italy? How was it finally removed? How did the Senate now gain power? How did the people retaliate? Describe the triumph of Sulla.

SECTION 63. How did the people regain power? Describe Pompey's campaigns. How did Cæsar rise? What did he accomplish as governor? What was his view of the political situation of Rome? What did he write? Recount his struggle with the Senate. What happened to Pompey's army in Italy? in Spain? in Greece? Where did Cæsar go after the Battle of Pharsalus? What territory did he finally control (see Map IV, p. 288)? What did he accomplish after his triumph? When and how did he die?

SECTION 64. Describe the situation and first action of Octavian on hearing of his uncle's death. What did he achieve in the next ten years? Recount his struggle with Antony. What period did this victory end? What kind of rule and what period did it begin?

[1] It should be noticed that these two centuries of peace did not begin with the Christian Era. They began thirty years before the first year of the Christian Era, and hence the two centuries of peace do not correspond exactly with the first two centuries of our Christian Era.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE FIRST CENTURY OF PEACE: THE AGE OF AUGUSTUS AND THE SUCCESSORS OF HIS LINE

Section 65. The Rule of Augustus (30 B.C.–A.D. 14) and the Beginning of Two Centuries of Peace

636. Octavian's moderate policy

When Octavian returned to Italy, all classes rejoiced at the termination of a century of revolution, civil war, and devastation. The great majority of Romans now felt that an individual ruler was necessary for the control of the vast Roman dominions. Octavian therefore entered upon forty-four years of peaceful effort to give to the Roman Empire the efficient organization and good government which it had so long lacked. His most difficult task was to alter the old form of the State so as to make legal the place in the government which he had taken by military force. Unlike Cæsar, Octavian felt a sincere respect for the institutions of the Roman Republic and did not wish to destroy them nor to gain for himself the throne of an oriental sovereign. During his struggle for the mastery heretofore, he had preserved the forms of the Republic and had been duly elected to his great position.

Note. The above headpiece shows us the two sides of a coin issued by Brutus, one of the leading assassins of Julius Cæsar (§ 630). On one is the head of Brutus; on the other are two daggers, intended to recall the assassination of Cæsar, and between them appears the cap of liberty, to suggest the liberty which the Romans supposedly gained by his murder, while there appears, below, the inscription EID MAR, which means the Ides of March (the Roman term for the fifteenth of March), the date of Cæsar's murder.

637. Organization of the Roman State by Octavian

Accordingly, on returning to Rome, Octavian did not disturb the Senate, but did much to strengthen it and improve its membership. Indeed, he voluntarily handed over his powers to the Senate and the Roman people in January, 27 B.C. The Senate thereupon, realizing by past experience that it did not possess the organization for ruling the great Roman world successfully, gave him officially the command of the army and the control of the most important frontier provinces. Besides these vast powers, he held also the important rights of a tribune (§ 507), and on this last office he chiefly based his legal claim to his power in the State.

638. Titles of the new ruler

At the same time the Senate conferred upon him the title of *Augustus*, that is, "the august"; but his chief official title was *Princeps*, that is, "the first," meaning the first of the citizens. Another title given the head of the Roman Empire was an old word for director or commander; namely, *Imperator*, from which our word "emperor" is derived. Augustus, as we may now call Octavian, regarded his position as that of an official of the Roman Republic, appointed by the Senate. Indeed, his appointment was not permanent, but for a term of years, after which he was reappointed.

639. Dual character of the new State; waning power of the Senate; tendency toward a military monarchy

The Roman Empire, which here emerges, was thus under a double government of the Senate and of the Princeps, whom we commonly call the emperor. The clever Augustus had done what his great adoptive father, Julius Cæsar, had thought unnecessary: he had conciliated those Romans who still cherished the old Republic. But this dual state in which Augustus endeavored to preserve the old Republic was not well balanced. The old powers of the Senate could not be maintained reign after reign, when the Senate controlled no army. The Princeps held too much power to remain a mere appointive official. He was the real ruler, because the legions were behind him, and the so-called republican State created by Augustus tended to become a military monarchy. In Egypt Augustus was in fact absolute monarch, and oriental influences led to regarding him as such everywhere.

640. Peace policy of Augustus, and the frontiers

The Empire which Rome now ruled consisted of the entire Mediterranean world, or a fringe of states extending entirely around the Mediterranean and including all its shores (Map I, p. 336). Back from the Mediterranean the frontier boundaries, left almost entirely unsettled by the Republic, were a pressing question. There was a natural boundary in the south, the Sahara, and also in the west, the Atlantic; but on the north and east further conquests might be made. In the main Augustus adopted the policy of organizing and consolidating the Empire *as he found it*, without making further conquests. In the east his boundary thus became the Euphrates, and in the north the Danube and the Rhine. The northern frontier of the Empire was made a line of provinces west of the Rhine and south of the Danube, extending from the North Sea to the Black Sea.

641. The army

For the defense of these vast frontiers it was necessary to maintain a large standing army. It probably contained, on the average, about two hundred and twenty-five thousand men. It was now recruited chiefly from the provinces, and the foreign soldier who entered the ranks received citizenship in return for his service. Thus the fiction that the army was made up of citizens was maintained. But the tramp of the legions was heard no more in Italy. Henceforth they were posted far out on the frontiers, and the citizens at home saw nothing of the troops who defended them.

642. The great task of Augustus; the organization of the provinces

Within these frontiers Augustus now undertook to organize government for the entire Mediterranean world. Great peoples and nations had to be officially taken into the Empire and given honest and efficient government. Some of them had old and successful systems of government; others had no government at all. Egypt, for example, had long before possessed the most highly organized administration in the ancient world, but regions of the West, like Gaul, had not yet been given a system of government. All this Augustus endeavored to do for the great Roman Empire, as Darius had once done it for that of Persia.

643. The improved system of governors of the provinces

The governor of a province was now appointed by the permanent ruler at Rome, and such a governor knew that he was responsible to that ruler for wise and honest government of his province. He also knew that if he proved successful he could hold his post for years, or be promoted to a better one. There thus grew up under the permanent control of Augustus and his successors a body of provincial governors of experience and efficiency (contrast §§ 570–571).

644. Beneficial effect of the new government

Thus at last two centuries of Roman mismanagement of the provinces ended, and the obligation of Rome to give good government to her dependencies was finally fulfilled.

645. The Mediterranean *world* on the way to become a Mediterranean *nation*

The great Mediterranean world now entered upon a new age of prosperity and development such as the nations along its shores, long accustomed to fight each other in war after war, had never known before. A process of unification began which was to make the Mediterranean *world* a Mediterranean *nation*. The national threads of our historical narrative have heretofore been numerous, as we have followed the stories of the oriental nations, of Athens, Sparta, Macedonia, Rome, Carthage, and others. For a long time we have followed these narratives separately like individual strands; but now they are to be twisted together into a single thread of national history, that of the Roman Empire. The great exceptions are the German barbarians in the north, and the unconquered Orient east of the Euphrates.

Section 66. The Civilization of the Augustan Age

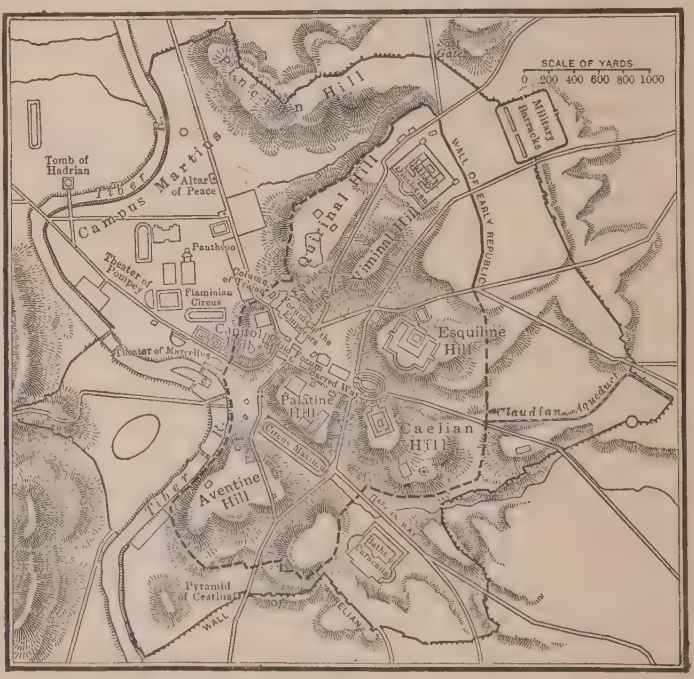
646. Augustus attempts a restoration of old Roman life, and plans the preëminence of Italy

In the new Mediterranean nation thus growing up, it was the purpose of Augustus that Italy should occupy a superior position, as the imperial leader of all the peoples around the Mediterranean. Italy was not to sink to the level of these peoples nor to be merely one of them. We have seen the sturdy virtues of earlier Roman character undermined and corrupted by sudden wealth and power (§ 582), before Italy had had a chance

to become a nation. Augustus made a remarkable effort to undo all this damage and restore the fine old days of rustic Roman virtue, the good old Roman customs, the beliefs of the fathers.

647. Rome the greatest center of art; the Palatine buildings of Augustus

Architecturally, Alexandria was still the most splendid city of the ancient world. The great architectural works which



MAP OF ROME UNDER THE EMPERORS

Augustus now began, made Rome the leading art center of the ancient world. His building plans were in the main those which his adoptive father, the Great Dictator, had himself either laid out or already begun. On the Palatine Hill, Augustus united several dwelling houses, already there, into a palace for his residence. From this royal dwelling on the *Palatine* arose our English word "palace."

FIGS. 109 AND 110. SCULPTURES OF HELLENISTIC PERGAMUM

Above (Fig. 109) is a Gallic trumpeter, as he sinks in death with his trumpet at his feet (§ 467). Below (Fig. 110) is a part of the frieze around the great altar of Zeus at Pergamum (Fig. 96). It pictures the mythical struggle between gods and giants. A giant at the left, whose limbs end in serpents, raises over his head a great stone to hurl it at the goddess on the right (§ 467)

FIG. 111. THE ROMAN FORUM AND ITS PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN THE EARLY EMPIRE. (AFTER LUCKENBACH)

We look across the ancient market place (*F*, § 498) to the Tiber with its ships at the head of navigation. On each side of the market place (*F*), where we see the buildings (*E*, *J*, and *D*, *G*, *I*), were once rows of little wooden booths for selling meat, fish, and other merchandise. Especially after the beginning of the Carthaginian wars these were displaced by fine buildings like the basilica hall *D*, built not long after 200 B.C. Note the Attic roofs and colonnades and the clerestory windows of the basilicas (*D*, *E*) copied from the Hellenistic cities (§ 464), and originally from the Orient (Fig. 28). It was soon to be adopted as a form for Christian church buildings (see Fig. 123). See complete key on opposite page, footnote

The palace looked down upon an imposing array of new marble buildings surrounding the ancient Forum. The finest of these was the magnificent basilica business hall erected by Cæsar, left unfinished and then damaged by fire. It was now restored and completed by Augustus (Fig. 111, *E*). On the north of the old Forum Cæsar had built a new forum, called the Forum of Cæsar (Fig. 111, *N*); but the growing business of the city led Augustus to build a third forum, known as the Forum of Augustus (Fig. 111, *O*), which he placed next to that of Cæsar (see *Ancient Times*, Fig. 247). The first stone theater in Rome had been built by Pompey (Plan, p. 320). Augustus, therefore, erected a larger and more magnificent theater.

648. The new buildings in the Forum and vicinity

In this new architecture of Rome, Greek models were the controlling influence. Nevertheless, oriental influences also were very prominent. The Roman triumphal arch was a descendant of the Assyrian palace front, with its three arched gateways (Fig. 112). Greek architecture did not employ the arch, but the architects of Rome now gave it a place of prominence along with the colonnade, as the two leading features of their buildings. It was through these Roman buildings that the arch gained its important place in our own modern architecture (Fig. 112).

649. Influence of Greece and the Orient on Roman architecture

* The Sacred Way (Plan, p. 320) passed the little circular temple of Vesta (*A*), and reached the Forum at the Arch of Augustus (*B*) and the Temple of the Deified Julius Cæsar (*C*). On the right was the oldest basilica in the Forum (*D*) and on the left the magnificent new Basilica of Julius Cæsar (*E*) (§ 648). Opposite this, across the old Forum market place (*F*), was the new Senate House (*G*) planned by Julius Cæsar (§§ 629, 647). At the upper end of the Forum was the new speaker's platform (*H*); near it Septimius Severus (§ 724) later erected his crude arch (*I*). Beyond rises the Capitol, with the Temple of Saturn (*J*) and the Temple of Concord (*K*) at its base; above on its slope is the Tabularium (*L*), a place of public records; and on the summit of the Capitol the Temple of Jove (*M*). Julius Cæsar extended the Forum northward by laying out his new Forum (*N*) behind his Senate House (*G*). The subsequent growth of the emperors' Forums on this side may be seen in *Ancient Times*, Fig. 247, where the same lettering is repeated and continued.

650. Complete lack of initiative in sculpture and painting at Rome

There were no creative sculptors in Rome like those whom we have met in Athens. Neither did a single great painter arise there, and the painting which was practiced was chiefly that of wall decoration, as we find it in the houses of Pompeii (Fig. 116), which we are yet to visit.

651. Lack of science at Rome; Strabo and geography; decline of science

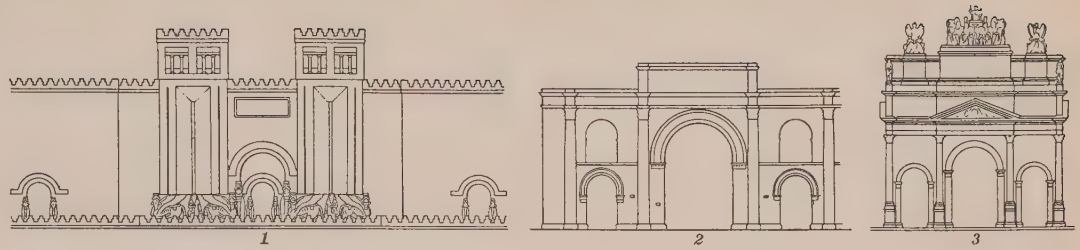
If Rome was a borrower in art, she was even more so in science. Rome had no such men as Archimedes (§ 469) and Eratosthenes (§ 473). The leading geography of the time was written by a Greek living in Rome, named Strabo. Although it sadly lacked in scientific method, it was for many centuries the world's standard geography and may still be read with great pleasure and profit as an ancient book of travel. It is, however, a landmark revealing the decline of ancient science and the end of that great line of scientists whose achievements made the Hellenistic Age the greatest age of science in the early world.

652. Enthusiastic interest in literature; Romans of Greco-Roman culture the leading cultivated men of the ancient world

Indifference to science at Rome was in marked contrast with Roman interest in literature. The leading Romans displayed in some cases an almost pathetic devotion to literary studies, even while weighed down with the heaviest responsibilities. Cæsar put together a treatise on Latin speech while crossing the Alps in a palanquin, when his mind must have been filled with the problems of his great wars in Gaul. Such men as these had studied in Athens or Rhodes, and were deeply versed in Greek learning and literature. They spoke Greek every day among themselves, perhaps more than they did Latin. In such Romans Hellenistic civilization and Roman character had mingled to produce the most cultivated minds of their time, unrivaled even in Greece in that age.

653. Cicero the type of the highly educated man of the late Republic; his writings and their enduring influence

The most cultivated man Rome ever produced was Cicero (§ 615). In the struggle to save the republic, Cicero had failed as a statesman. Thereupon he devoted himself to his literary pursuits. As the greatest orator in Roman history, he had already done much to perfect and beautify Latin prose in the orations which he delivered in the course of his career as a lawyer and a statesman. After his retirement he produced



1 Assyrian Palace Front (see Fig. 43) 2 Parthian Palace Front 3 Roman Triumphal Arch

FIG. 112. THE ROMAN TRIUMPHAL ARCH AND ITS ORIENTAL ANCESTORS

The imposing front of the Assyrian palace (*1*), with its tall arch in the middle and a lower arch on each side (see Fig. 43), was continued by the Parthians (*2*), and at the same time they shifted the side arches nearer to the middle arch (*2*). The Greeks were slow to adopt the arch and did not make full use of it until they were Christianized and began to employ it in their churches (headpiece, Chap. XXI). The Romans, on the contrary, were influenced by the Etruscans, who probably brought the arch with them from Asia Minor. Hence we early found it in Rome, and the triumphal arch of Augustus, and other arches of this kind built by the Romans (*3*), were descendants of the Assyrian palace front, with a tall arch in the middle and lower arches on each side, just as widely traveled Romans had seen it in the East

a group of remarkable treatises on conduct — such matters as friendship, old age, and the like; and he left behind also several hundred letters which were preserved by his friends. As one of the last sacrifices of the civil wars, Cicero had fallen by the hands of Antony's brutal soldiery; but his writings were to exert an undying influence. They made Latin speech one of the most beautiful instruments of human expression, and as an example of the finest literary style they have influenced the best writing in all the languages of civilization ever since.

654. Rise of poetry in the Augustan Age; Horace

Thus in the last days of the Republic, in spite of turbulence and civil war, Cicero and the men of his time had perfected Latin *prose*. On the other hand, the greatest of Latin *poetry* arose under the inspiration of the early Empire and the universal peace established by Augustus. Horace, the leading poet of the time, although only the son of a freedman of unknown race, had studied in Greece. He knew the old Greek lyric poets (§ 299) who had suffered danger and disaster as he himself had done in the long civil war. With the haunting echoes of old Greek poetry in his soul, he now found his own voice. Then he began to write of the men and the life of his own time in a body of verse which forms for us an undying picture of the Romans in the days of Augustus. The poems of Horace will always remain one of the greatest legacies from the ancient world — a treasury of Roman life as pictured by a ripe and cultivated mind, unsurpassed even in the highly developed literature of the Greeks.

655. Virgil and the *Æneid*

Virgil, the other great poet of the Augustan Age, spent much of his time in the quiet of his ancestral farm under the shadow of the Alps in the North. Here, as he looked out upon his own fields, the poet began to write verses like those of Theocritus (§ 476), reflecting to us in all its poetic beauty the rustic life of his time on the green hillsides of Italy. As time passed he gained an exalted vision of the mission of Rome, and especially of Augustus, as the restorer of world peace. Virgil then undertook the creation of another epic poem, in which he pictured

the wanderings of the Trojan hero Æneas escaping from burning Troy to Italy. There in the course of many heroic adventures Æneas founded the royal line of Latium (see Note, p. 254). From him, according to the story, were descended the Julian family, the Cæsars, the ancestors of Augustus. Deeply admired by the age that produced it, the Æneid (as this poem is called, after Æneas) has ever since been one of the leading schoolbooks of the civilized world, and has had an abiding influence on the best literature of later times.

656. Account of his deeds left by Augustus in the Ancyra monument

Augustus himself also left an account of his deeds. When he was over seventy-five years old, as he felt his end approaching, he put together a narrative of his career, which was engraved on bronze tablets and set up before his tomb. In this simple story his career is unfolded with such grandeur as to make the document the most impressive brief record of a great man's life which has survived to us from the ancient world. Almost with his last breath Augustus penned the closing lines of this remarkable record, and on the nineteenth of August, the month which bears his name, in the fourteenth year of the Christian Era, the first of the Roman emperors died.

Section 67. The Line of Augustus and the End of the First Century of Peace (A.D. 14–A.D. 68)

657. The four successors of the line of Augustus (A.D. 14–68); the question of the succession; Tiberius

Augustus had been in supreme control of the great Roman world for nearly half a century. Four descendants of his family, either by blood or adoption, were to rule for more than another half century, and thus to fill out the first century of peace. Augustus had never put forward a law providing for the appointment of his successor or for later successors to his position. Any prominent Roman citizen might have aspired to the office. Augustus left no son, and one after another his male heirs had died. He had finally been obliged to ask the Senate to associate with him his stepson Tiberius, his wife's son by an earlier marriage.

658. The efficient reign of Tiberius (A. D. 14–37)

At the death of Augustus, the Senate, therefore, at once appointed Tiberius to all his stepfather's powers, and without any limit as to time. He was an able soldier and an experienced man of affairs. He gave the provinces wise and efficient governors and showed himself a skilled and successful ruler. Tiberius no longer allowed the Roman rabble to go through the farce of voting on what the emperor had already decided, and even the appearance of a government by the Roman people thus finally disappeared forever.

659. Caligula (A. D. 37–41)

As Tiberius had lost his son, the choice for his successor fell upon Gaius Cæsar, a great-grandson of Augustus, nicknamed Caligula ("little boot") by the soldiers among whom he was brought up. After a mad career of drunkenness and debauchery, this mockery of a reign was brought to a sudden close by Caligula's own officers, who put an end to his life in his palace on the Palatine, when he had reigned only four years.

660. The accession of Claudius (A. D. 41)

The imperial guards, ransacking the palace after the death of Caligula, found in hiding the trembling figure of a nephew of Tiberius and uncle of the dead Caligula, named Claudius. He had always been merely tolerated by his family as a man both physically and mentally inferior. He was now fifty years old. The guards hailed him as emperor, and the Senate was obliged to consent.

661. Achievements of Claudius: conquest of Britain; creation of ministers of state (A. D. 41–54)

Nevertheless Claudius accomplished much for the Empire and devoted himself to its affairs (Fig. 113). He conducted in person a successful campaign in Britain, and for the first time made its southern portion a province of the Empire. It was this conquest which helped to bring so much of Latin speech into the English language, for Britain remained a Roman province for three and a half centuries. At home his officials, chiefly able Greek freedmen who were aiding him in his duties, were beginning to form a kind of cabinet destined finally to give the Empire for the first time a group of efficient ministers, whom we should call the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of State, and others like them.

Agrippina, the last of his wives, was able to push aside the son of Claudius and gain the throne for her own son Nero, as the successor of Claudius. Not only on his mother's side, but also on his father's, Nero was descended from the family of Augustus. His mother had intrusted his education to the philosopher Seneca, and for the first five years of his reign,

662. Accession of Nero (A.D. 54)

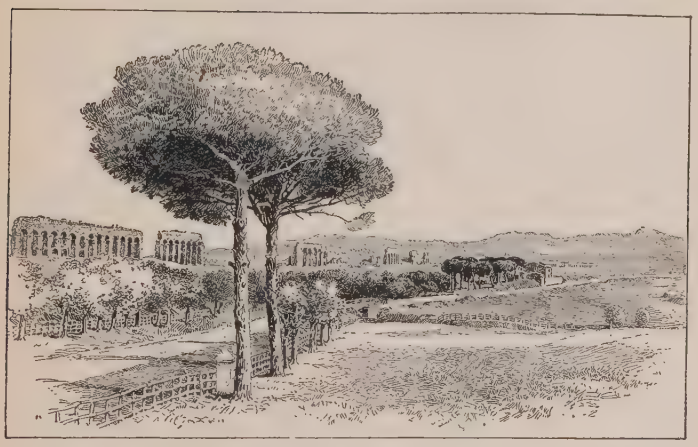


FIG. 113. THE AQUEDUCT OF THE EMPEROR CLAUDIUS

This wonderful aqueduct, built by the Emperor Claudius about the middle of the first century after Christ, is over forty miles long. About three fourths of it is subterranean, but the last ten miles consists of tall arches of massive masonry (seen at the left), supporting the channel in which the water flowed, till it reached the palace of the emperor on the Palatine (Plan, p. 320). Such ancient Roman aqueducts were so well built that four of them are still in use, and they convey to Rome a more plentiful supply of water than any great modern city elsewhere receives

while Seneca was his chief minister, the rule of Nero was wise and successful. Then palace intrigues removed this able minister from the court. Nero's strong-minded mother, Agrippina, was also banished. Thereafter he cast aside all restraint and followed his own evil nature in a career of such vice and cruelty that the name of Nero has ever since been regarded as one of the blackest in all history.

663. The infamy of Nero's reign

Nero was devoted to art and wished personally to follow it. As the companion of actors, sportsmen, and prize fighters, he even took part in gladiatorial exhibitions. His cowardly and suspicious nature led him to condemn his old teacher, Seneca, to death, and also to cause the assassination of the son of Claudius and of many other innocent and deserving men. In the same way he was persuaded to take the life of his wife, and, to crown his infamy, he even had his own mother assassinated. At the same time his wild extravagance, his excessive taxation in some of the provinces, and his murders among the rich and noble were stirring up dangerous dissatisfaction, which was to result in his fall.

664. The great fire at Rome (A. D. 64)

A great disaster, meantime, took place in Rome. A huge fire broke out and destroyed a large portion of the city. Dark rumors ran through the streets that Nero himself had set fire to the city that he might rebuild it more splendidly, and gossip told how he sat watching the conflagration while giving a musical performance of his own on the destruction of Troy. There is no evidence to support these rumors. Under the circumstances, Nero himself welcomed another version, which accused the Christians of having started the fire, and he executed a large number of them with horrible tortures.

665. The death of Nero, the last of the Julian line; the end of the first century of peace (A. D. 68)

The dissatisfaction at Rome, and Nero's treatment of the only able men around him, deprived him of support there. Then the provinces began to chafe under heavy taxation. When the discontent in the provinces finally broke out in open revolt, rebellious troops marched on Rome. The cowardly Nero went into hiding, and on hearing that the Senate had voted his death, he theatrically stabbed himself, and, attitudinizing to the last, he passed away uttering the words, "What an artist dies in me!" Thus died, in A. D. 68, the last ruler of the line of Augustus, and with him ended the first century of peace (31 B. C.–A. D. 68); for several Roman commanders now struggled for the throne and threatened to involve the Empire in another long civil war.

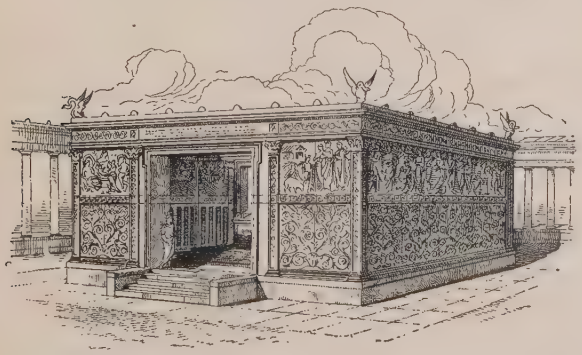
QUESTIONS

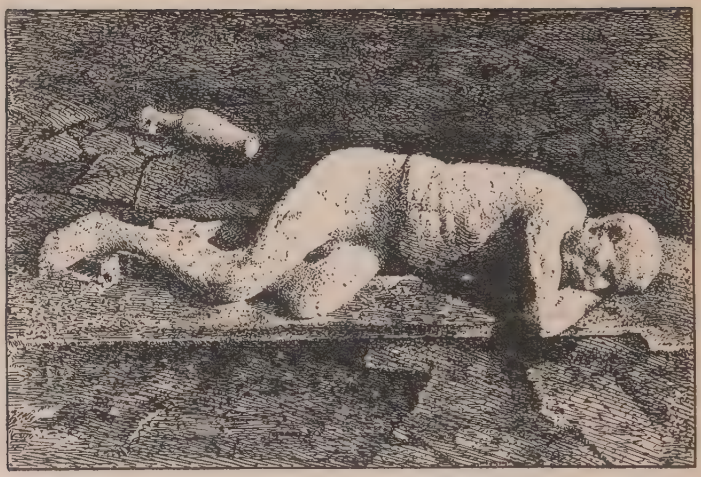
SECTION 65. Describe the new state organized by Octavian. What was his policy regarding conquests? What can you say of his army? Who appointed the governors? What was the result?

SECTION 66. What position did Augustus desire for Italy? What did he do for Rome? Whence did Rome inherit her architecture? her art and science? Discuss Roman interest in literature. Who was Rome's most cultivated man? What position does he hold in literature? What can you say about Horace? about Virgil? What did Augustus write? When did he die?

SECTION 67. How long did Augustus and the successors belonging to his family reign? Tell of the reigns of the first two who followed him. What were the leading achievements of Claudius? Tell the story of Nero's reign. What century ended with his death? When?

NOTE. The tailpiece below shows a restoration of a magnificent marble inclosure containing the "Altar of Augustan Peace," erected by order of the Senate in honor of Augustus. The inclosure was open to the sky, and its surrounding walls, of which portions still exist, are covered below by a broad band of ornamental plant spirals, very sumptuous in effect. Above it is a series of reliefs, of which the one on the right of the door pictures the legendary hero Æneas bringing an offering to the temple of the Roman household gods (Penates) whom he carried from Troy to Latium (Note, p. 254).





CHAPTER XIX

THE SECOND CENTURY OF PEACE AND THE CIVILIZATION OF THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE

SECTION 68. THE EMPERORS OF THE SECOND CENTURY OF PEACE (BEGINNING A.D. 69)

666. Advent of the second century of peace with the triumph of Vespasian (A.D. 69)

For about a year after the death of Nero the struggle among the leading military commanders for the throne of the Cæsars continued. Fortunately Vespasian, a very able commander in the East, was victorious, and in A.D. 69 he was declared emperor by the Senate. With him, therefore, began a second century of peace under a line of able emperors who brought the

NOTE. The above headpiece shows us the body of a citizen of Pompeii who perished when the city was destroyed by an eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79 (§ 679). The fine volcanic ashes settled around the man's body, and these rain-soaked ashes made a cast of his figure before it had perished. After the body had perished it left in the hardened mass of ashes a hollow mold, which the modern excavators poured full of plaster, and thus secured a cast of the figure of the unfortunate man just as he lay smothered by the deadly ashes which overwhelmed him over eighteen hundred years ago.

Empire to the highest level of prosperity and happiness. We shall first notice the political and military activities of these emperors and then turn to the life and civilization of the Empire as a whole during the second century of peace.

667. Two great tasks of the emperors: frontier defenses and efficient government organization

Two great tasks were accomplished by the emperors of the age we are discussing: *first*, that of perfecting the system of defenses on the frontiers, and *second*, that of more fully developing the government and administration of the Empire. Let us look first at the frontiers. On the south the Empire was protected by the Sahara desert and on the west by the Atlantic; but on the north and east it was open to attack. The shifting German tribes constantly threatened the northern frontiers; while in the east the frontier on the Euphrates was continually made unsafe by the Parthians, the only civilized power still unconquered by Rome (see Map I, p. 336).

668. The Roman Empire, the bulwark of Mediterranean civilization against northern barbarism

Owing to the pressure of the barbarians on the northern frontiers, Mediterranean civilization was still in constant danger of being overwhelmed from the North and destroyed. The great problem for future humanity was whether the Roman emperors would be able to hold off the barbarians long enough to permit these rude Northerners to gain enough of Mediterranean civilization to respect it, and thus to preserve at least some of it for mankind in the future.

669. The strengthening of the northern frontiers by the Flavian emperors (A. D. 69–96)

The Flavian family, as we call Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian, did much to make the northern frontiers safe. Domitian adopted the frontier lines laid down by Augustus and planned their fortification with walls wherever necessary. But on the lower Danube he failed to crush the dangerous power of the growing kingdom of Dacia (see Map I, p. 336).

670. Trajan crushes the barbarians on the lower Danube and conquers Dacia (A. D. 101–106)

This left the whole threatening situation on the lower Danube to be met by the brilliant soldier Trajan. He captured one stronghold of the Dacians after another, and in two wars finally destroyed their capital. Having built a massive stone bridge across the Danube, Trajan made Dacia a Roman province and sprinkled plentiful Roman colonies on the north side of the

great river. The descendants of these colonies in the same region still call themselves *Rumanians* and their land *Rumania*, a form of the word "Roman."

671. Trajan's war with the Parthians (A.D. 115–117)

Trajan then turned his attention to the eastern frontier, where a large portion of the boundary was formed by the upper Euphrates River. Rome thus held the western half of the Fertile Crescent, but it had never conquered the eastern half, with Assyria and Babylonia (see Map I, p. 336), which was held by the powerful kingdom of the Parthians. Here Trajan dreamed of a great oriental empire like that of Alexander. He defeated the Parthians and added Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria to the Empire as new provinces. Then a sudden rebellion in his rear forced him to a dangerous retreat. Weakened by sickness and bitterly realizing that his great expedition was a failure, he died in Asia Minor while returning to Rome (A.D. 117).

672. Hadrian (A.D. 117–138) completes the frontier defenses

Trajan's successor, Hadrian, was another able soldier, but he had also the judgment of a statesman. He made no effort to continue Trajan's conquests in the East. On the contrary, he wisely brought the frontier back to the Euphrates. But he retained Dacia and strengthened the whole northern frontier, especially the long barrier reaching from the Rhine to the Danube, where the completion of the continuous wall (Fig. 114) was largely due to him. He built a similar wall along the northern boundary across Britain. The line of both these walls is still visible. As a result of these wise measures and the impressive victories of Trajan, the frontiers were safe and quiet for a long time.

673. The army under Trajan and Hadrian

Under Trajan and Hadrian the army which defended these frontiers was the greatest and most skillfully managed organization of the kind which the ancient world had ever seen. Drawn from all parts of the Empire, the army now consisted of all possible nationalities, like the British army in the recent Great European War. A legion of Spaniards might be stationed on the Euphrates, or a group of youths from the Nile might spend many years in sentry duty on the wall that barred out the

Germans. We are still able to hold in our hands the actual letters written from a northern post by a young Egyptian recruit in the Roman army to his father and sister in a distant little village on the Nile.[1] Such posts were equipped with fine barracks and living quarters for officers and men (Fig. 115), and the discipline necessary to keep the troops always ready to meet the barbarians outside the walls was never relaxed.

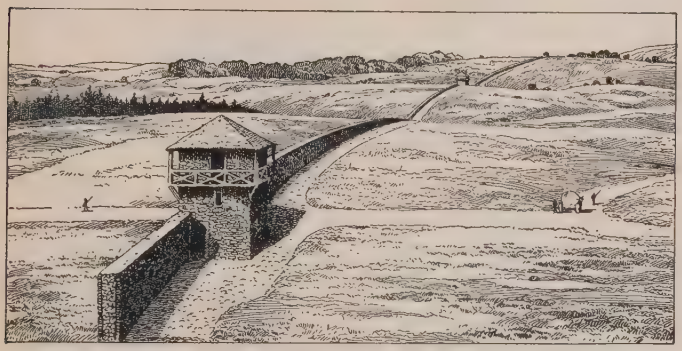


FIG. 114. RESTORATION OF THE ROMAN FORTIFIED WALL ON THE GERMAN FRONTIER

This masonry wall, some three hundred miles long, protected the northern boundary of the Roman Empire between the upper Rhine and the upper Danube, where it was most exposed to German attack. At short intervals there were blockhouses along the wall, and at points of great danger strongholds and barracks (Fig. 115) for the shelter of garrisons

674. Organization of efficient government departments; increased power of the emperor

Meantime the Empire had been undergoing important changes within. The emperors developed a system of *government departments* already foreshadowed in the time of Claudius (§ 661). It was the wise and efficient Hadrian who accomplished the most in perfecting this organization of the government business. Thus after Rome had been for more than three centuries in control of the Mediterranean world, it finally possessed a well-developed government organization such as had been in

[1] See *Ancient Times*, Fig. 253, and p. 631, footnote.

operation in the Orient since the days of the pyramid builders (§§ 46–48). With the complete control of these departments entirely in his own hands, the power of the emperor was much increased.

675. Change from private tax-farmers to government tax collectors

Among many changes, one of the most important was the abolition of the system of "farming" taxes; that is, allowing

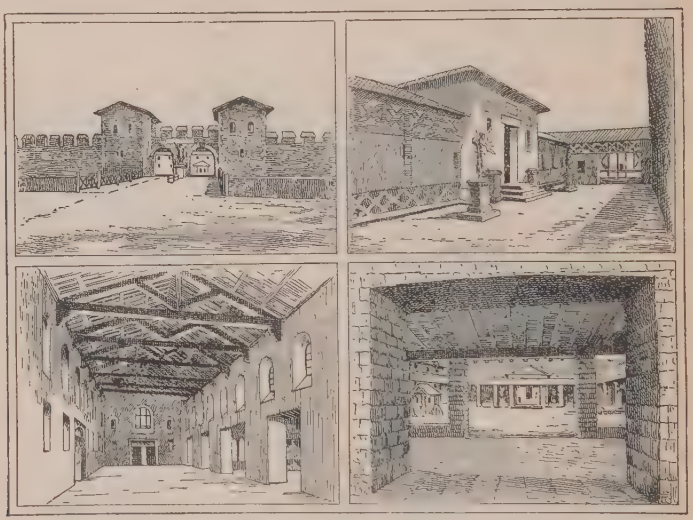


FIG. 115. GLIMPSES OF A ROMAN FRONTIER STRONGHOLD (RESTORED AFTER WALTZE-SCHULZE)

Above, at the left, the main gate of the fort; the other three views show the barracks (cf. Fig. 114)

them to be collected by private individuals for profit—a system which had caused both the Greeks and the Romans (§ 571) much trouble. Government tax collectors now everywhere gathered in the taxes of the great Mediterranean world.

676. Rise of a system of law for the whole Empire

Not only did the subjects of this vast State pay their taxes into the same treasury, but they were now controlled by the same laws. The lawyers of Rome under the emperors we are now discussing were the most gifted legal minds the world had

ever seen. They altered the narrow *city*-law of Rome that it might meet the needs of the whole Mediterranean world. In spirit, these laws of the Empire were most fair, just, and humane. Antoninus Pius, the kindly emperor who followed Hadrian, maintained that an accused person must be held innocent until proved guilty by the evidence, a principle of law which has descended to us and is still part of our own law. These laws did much to unify the peoples of the Mediterranean world into a single nation; for they were now regarded by the law not as different nations but as subjects of the same great State, which extended to them all the same protection of justice, law, and order.

677. Close attention to the provinces by the emperors, and decline of the people's interest

Able and conscientious governors were now controlling affairs all over the Empire. The letters written to Trajan by one of his governors reveal to us the enormous amount of provincial business which received the emperor's personal attention. Such attention by emperors like Trajan and Hadrian relieved the communities of much responsibility for their own affairs. Hadrian traveled for years among the provinces and became very familiar with their needs. Hence the local communities inclined more and more to depend upon the emperor, and their interest in public affairs declined. This was eventually a serious cause of general decay, as we shall see.

Section 69. The Civilization of the Early Roman Empire: the Provinces

678. The peoples of the Roman Empire

Here was a world of sixty-five to a hundred million souls encircling the entire Mediterranean. We might have stood at the Strait of Gibraltar and, if human vision had been able to penetrate so far, we might have followed these peoples as our eyes swept along the Mediterranean coasts out through Africa and back through Asia and Europe to the Strait again. On our right in Africa would have been Moors, North Africans, and Egyptians; in the eastern background, Arabs, Jews,

Phœnicians, Syrians, Armenians, and Hittites; and as our eyes returned through Europe, Greeks, Italians, Gauls, and Iberians (Spaniards); while north of these were the Britons and some Germans within the frontier lines. All these people were of course very different from one another in native manners, clothing, and customs, but they all enjoyed Roman protection and rejoiced in the far-reaching Roman peace. For the most part, as we have seen, they lived in cities, and the life of the age was prevailingly a city life, even though many of the cities were small.

679. Pompeii, a provincial city of the early Roman Empire

Fortunately one of the provincial cities has been preserved to us with much that we might have seen there if we could have visited it nearly two thousand years ago. The little city of Pompeii, covered with volcanic ashes in the brief reign of Titus (A.D. 79), still shows us the very streets and houses, the forum and the public buildings, the shops and the markets, and a host of other things very much as we might have found them if we had been able to visit the place before the disaster (Fig. 116).[1] The very life of the people in the early Roman Empire seems to rise before us as we tread the now silent streets of this wonderfully preserved place.

680. Improved means of intercourse: Roman roads and bridges

Pompeii was close beside the Greek cities of southern Italy, and we at once discover that the place was essentially Hellenistic in its life and art. Indeed, from southern Italy eastward we should have found the life of the world controlled by Rome to be simply the natural outgrowth of Hellenistic life and civilization. In some matters there had been great progress. This was especially true of intercourse and rapid communication. Everywhere the magnificent Roman roads, massively paved with smooth stone, like a town street, led straight over the hills and across the rivers by imposing bridges. Some of these bridges still stand and are in use to-day (Fig. 118). The speed of travel and communication was fully as high as that maintained in Europe and America a century ago, before the introduction of the steam railway, and the roads were better.

[1] See *Ancient Times*, Figs. 197, 243, 255, and 256.

Map I
Expansion of the Roman Empire from the Death of Cæsar to the End of the Two Centuries of Peace (44 B.C.–167 A.D.)
Roman Territory at the Death of Cæsar 44 B.C.
Added before the Death of Augustus (14 A.D.)
Added after the Death of Augustus (14 A.D.)
Boundary of the Empire at its greatest extent
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ARABIA
SAHARA DESERT
PARTHIAN EMPIRE
ARMENIA
GERMANY
GAUL
SPAIN
BRITANNIA
IRELAND
English Channel
BELGIANS
AQUITANIA
NARBONENSIS
PANNONIA
DACIA
ILLYRIA
THRACE
Balkan Peninsula
MACEDONIA
Philippi
Byzantium
BITHYNIA
PONTUS
Nicomedia
Nicæa
GALATIA
Pergamum
Ephesus
Tarsus
CILICIA
Pharsalus
Brundisium
Tarentum
Naples
Capua
Rome
Misenum
SARDINIA
CORSICA
BALEARIC Is.
Marseilles
Str. of Gibraltar
MAURETANIA
NUMIDIA
Zama
Carthage
SICILY
Syracuse
Corinth
Athens
GREECE
CRETE
RHODES
CYPRUS
SYRIA
Antioch
Palmyra
Damascus
Jerusalem
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates
Tigris R.
Seleucia
CHALDEA
Persian Gulf
Isthmus of Suez
Alexandria
Cyrene
CYRENAICA
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile R.
Thebes
Red Sea
Rhine R.
Danube R.
Adriatic Sea
Ægean Sea

SEQUENCE MAP SHOWING TERRITORIAL GAINS AND LOSSES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE FROM THE DEATH OF CÆSAR (44 B.C.) TO THE DEATH OF DIOCLETIAN (305 A.D.)

681. Navigation and shipping

Indeed, the good Roman roads were a great advance over the Hellenistic Age. By sea, however, the chief difference was the freedom from the old-time pirates (§ 613), and the resulting regularity of over-sea communications. For example, a Roman merchant could send a letter to his agent in Alexandria in ten

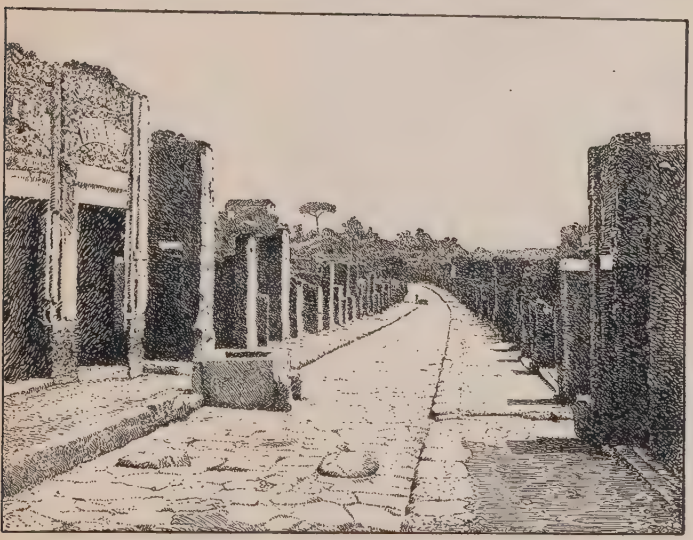


FIG. 116. A STREET IN ANCIENT POMPEII AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY

The pavement and sidewalk are in perfect condition, as when they were first covered by the falling ashes (§ 679). At the left is a public fountain, and in the foreground is a street crossing. Of the buildings on this street only half a story still stands, except at the left, where we see the entrances of two shops, with the tops of the doors in position and the walls preserved to the level of the second floor above

days. The huge government corn ships that plied regularly between the Roman harbors and Alexandria were stately vessels carrying several thousand tons. Good harbors had everywhere been equipped with docks, and lighthouses modeled on the Pharos at Alexandria (Fig. 95) guided the mariners into every harbor.

682. Commerce from the Atlantic to India and from the Baltic to the Mediterranean

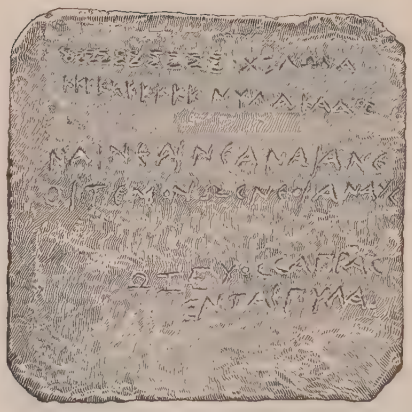


FIG. 117. SCRIBBLINGS OF SICILIAN SCHOOLBOYS ON A BRICK IN THE DAYS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

In passing a brickyard these schoolboys of seventeen hundred years ago amused themselves in scribbling school exercises *in Greek* on the soft clay bricks before they were baked. At the top a little boy who was still making capitals carefully wrote the capital letter *S* (Greek Σ) ten times, and under it the similar letter *K*, also ten times. These he followed by the words "turtle" (ΧΕΛΩΝΑ), "mill" (ΜΥΛΑ), and "pail" (ΚΑΔΟΣ), all in capitals. Then an older boy, who could do more than write capitals, has pushed the little chap aside and proudly demonstrated his superiority by writing in two lines an exercise in tongue gymnastics (like "Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers," etc.), which in our letters is as follows:

Nai neai nea naia neoi temon, hōs neoi ha naus

This means: "Boys cut new planks for a new ship, that the ship might float." A third boy then added two lines at the bottom. The brick illustrates the spread of Greek (§ 688) as well as provincial education under the Roman Empire (§ 683)

Under these circumstances business flourished as never before. The good roads led merchants to trade beyond the frontiers and to find new markets. The discovery of the seasonal winds in the Indian Ocean led to a great increase of trade with India, and there was a fleet of a hundred and twenty ships plying regularly across the Indian Ocean between the Red Sea and the harbors of India. The wares which they brought were shipped west from the docks of Alexandria, which still remained the greatest commercial city on the Mediterranean, the Liverpool of the Roman Empire. There was a proverb that you could get everything at Alexandria except snow. A vast network of commerce thus covered the ancient world from the frontiers of China and

the coast of India on the east to Britain and the harbors of the Atlantic on the west.

683. Frequency of travel; public benefactions and schools in the provinces

Both business and pleasure now made travel very common, and a wide acquaintance with the world was not unusual. The Roman citizen of means and education made his tour of the Mediterranean much as the modern sight-seer does. As he

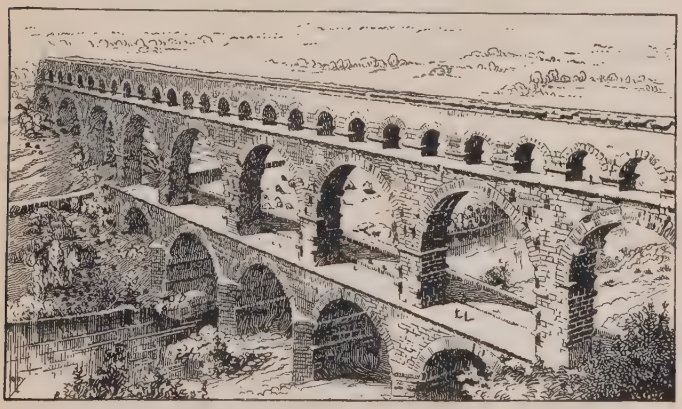


FIG. 118. ROMAN BRIDGE AND AQUEDUCT AT NÎMES, FRANCE

This structure was built by the Romans about A. D. 20 to supply the Roman colony of Nemausus (now called Nîmes) in southern France with water from two excellent springs twenty-five miles distant. It is nearly nine hundred feet long and one hundred sixty feet high, and carried the water over the valley of the river Gard. The channel for the water is at the very top, and one can still walk through it. The miles of aqueduct on either side of this bridge and leading up to it have almost disappeared (§ 688)

passed through the towns of the provinces, he found everywhere evidences of the generosity of the citizens. There were fountains, theaters, music halls, baths, gymnasiums, and schools, erected by wealthy men and given to the community. The boys and girls of these towns found open to them schools with teachers paid by the government, where all those ordinary branches of study which we have found in the Hellenistic Age were taught (Fig. 117). The boy who turned to business could

engage a stenographer to teach him shorthand, and the young man who wished higher instruction could still find university teachers at Alexandria and Athens, and also at a number of younger universities in both East and West, especially the new university established by Hadrian at Rome and called the Athenæum. Thus the cultivated traveler found men of education and literary culture wherever he went.

684. The Roman traveler in the East: Greece

To such a traveler wandering in Greece and looking back some six hundred years to the Age of Pericles or the Persian Wars of Athens, Greece seemed to belong to a distant and ancient world, of which he had read in the histories of Thucydides and Herodotus (§§ 359, 420). As the Roman visitor strolled through Athens or Delphi, he noticed many an empty pedestal, and he recalled how the villas of his friends at home were now adorned with the statues which had once occupied those empty pedestals (see § 574). The Greek cities which had brought forth such things were now poor and helpless, commercially and politically, in spite of the rich heritage of civilization which they had bequeathed to the Romans.

685. The Roman traveler in the East: Asia Minor and Syria

As the traveler passed eastward through the flourishing cities of Asia Minor and Syria, he might feel justifiable pride in what Roman rule was accomplishing. In the western half of the Fertile Crescent, especially just east of the Jordan, where there had formerly been only a nomad wilderness (§ 90), there were now prosperous towns, with long aqueducts, with baths, theaters, basilicas, and imposing public buildings, of which the ruins even at the present day are astonishing. All these towns were not only linked together by the fine roads we have mentioned, but they were likewise connected with Rome by other fine roads leading entirely across Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula.

686. The Roman traveler in the East: Parthia

Beyond the desert behind these towns lay the ancient Empires of Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia, with the ruins of their once great cities, all held by the troublesome Parthian Empire. Trajan's effort to conquer that country having failed (§ 671), the Roman traveler made no effort to cross the frontier eastward.

687. The Roman traveler in the East: Egypt

But he could take a great Roman galley at Antioch and cross over to Alexandria, where a still more ancient world awaited him. In the vast lighthouse (Fig. 95), over four hundred years old and visible for hours before he reached the harbor, he recognized the model of the Roman lighthouses he had seen. Here our traveler found himself among a group of wealthy Greek and Roman tourists on the Nile. As they left the magnificent buildings of Hellenistic Alexandria (§ 466), their voyage up the river carried them at once into the midst of an earlier world — the earliest world of which they knew. All about them at Memphis and Thebes were buildings which were thousands of years old before Rome was founded. On these monuments we still find their scribblings at the present day (Fig. 29).

688. Ancient civilization in the East; later Roman in the West

The eastern Mediterranean was regarded by the Romans as *their* ancient world, long possessed of its own ancient civilization, Greek and oriental. There the Roman traveler found Greek everywhere as far west as Sicily (Fig. 117), and spoke it as he traveled. But when he turned away from the East and entered the western Mediterranean, he found that the language of civilized intercourse was Latin, the language of Rome. In the western Mediterranean he entered a much more modern world, with vast regions where civilization was a recent matter, just as it is in America. In this age western Europe had for the first time been building cities; but it was under the guidance of Roman architects, and their buildings looked like those at Rome. We can still visit and study massive bridges, spacious theaters, imposing public monuments, sumptuous villas, and luxurious public baths — a line of Roman ruins stretching from Britain through southern France and Germany to the northern Balkans (Fig. 118). Similarly in North Africa between the desert and the sea, west of Carthage, the ruins of whole cities with magnificent public buildings still survive to show us how Roman civilization reclaimed regions of the western Mediterranean world little better than barbarous before the Roman conquest.

689. The whole Mediterranean world at last highly civilized

All these Roman buildings, still encircling the Mediterranean, reveal to us the fact that as a result of all the ages of human development which we have studied, the whole Mediterranean world, West as well as East, had now gained a high civilization. Such was the picture which the Roman traveler gained of that great world which his countrymen ruled: in the center the vast midland sea, and around it a fringe of civilized countries surrounded and protected by the encircling line of legions. These legions, forming a great barrier of military stations, stretched on the north of the Mediterranean from Britain to Jerusalem, and on its south from Jerusalem to Morocco, like a dike restraining the stormy sea of barbarians outside, which would otherwise have poured in and overwhelmed the results of centuries of civilized development. Meantime we must return from the provinces to Rome itself, and endeavor to learn what had been the course of civilization there since the Augustan Age.

Section 70. The Civilization of the Early Roman Empire: Rome

690. Public buildings of Rome: the Colosseum and the new forums of the emperors

The visitor in Rome at the close of the reign of Hadrian found it the most magnificent monumental city in the world of that day. It had by that time quite surpassed Alexandria in size and in the number and splendor of its public buildings. It was especially in and alongside the old Forum that the grandest buildings of the Empire had grown up. There Vespasian erected a vast amphitheater for gladiatorial combats, now known as the Colosseum (Fig. 119). Along the north side of the old Forum, the emperors built three new forums surpassing in magnificence anything which the Mediterranean world had ever seen before.[1]

691. Roman concrete: Hadrian's Pantheon

In these buildings of Trajan and Hadrian the architecture of Rome reached its highest level of both splendor and beauty, and also of workmanship. Sometime in the Hellenistic Age

[1] See *Ancient Times*, Fig. 247.

architects had begun to employ increasing quantities of cement concrete, though it is still uncertain where or by whom the hardening properties of cement were discovered. The domed roof of Hadrian's Pantheon[1] is a single enormous concrete cast,

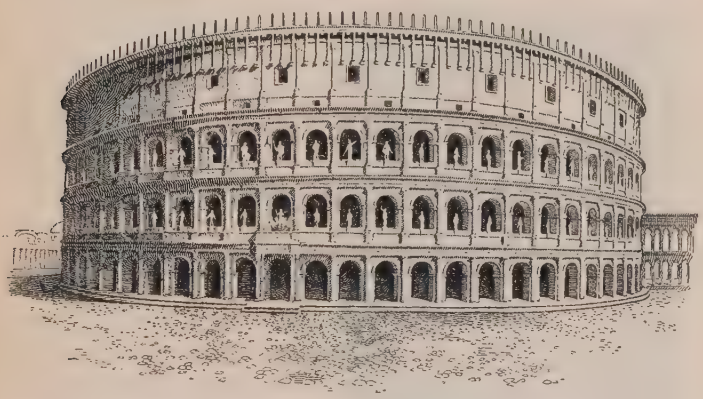


FIG. 119. THE VAST FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATER AT ROME, NOW CALLED THE COLOSSEUM. (AFTER LUCKENBACH)

Such buildings for witnessing gladiatorial combats (§ 583) were at first temporary "grand stands" of wood. This enormous building, one of the greatest in the world, was an oval arena surrounded by rising tiers of seats, accommodating nearly fifty thousand people. We see here only the outside wall, as restored. It was built by the emperors Vespasian and Titus (§ 690), and was completed in A. D. 80. Every Roman town of any size had such an arena. The one at Pola, in Dalmatia, a town of forty thousand people, still stands, and could seat about twenty thousand spectators. A fine one still stands in Verona, Italy. In these places the emperors threw thousands of barbarian prisoners to the wild beasts

over a hundred and forty feet across. The Romans, therefore, eighteen hundred years ago were employing concrete on a scale which we have only recently learned to imitate, and after all this lapse of time the roof of the Pantheon seems to be as safe and stanch as it was when Hadrian's architects first knocked away the posts which supported the wooden form for the great cast.[1]

[1] See *Ancient Times*, Fig. 264.

692. Roman sculpture

The *relief* sculpture adorning all these monuments is the greatest of Roman art. The reliefs still covering Trajan's column are a wonderful picture book of his campaigns (§§ 670–671). Of *statue* sculpture, however, the vast majority of the works produced in this period were copies of the masterpieces of the great Greek sculptors. The portrait sculptors produced portraits of the leading Romans, which are among the finest of such works ever wrought (Fig. 120).

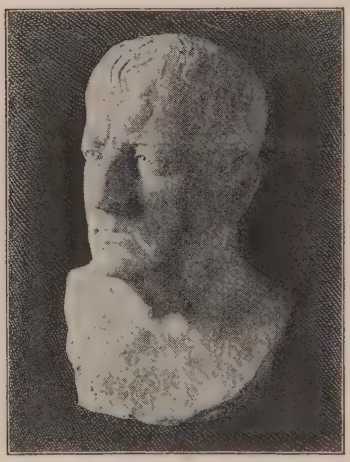


FIG. 120. PORTRAIT OF AN UNKNOWN ROMAN

This terra-cotta head is one of the finest portraits ever made (§ 692). It represents one of the masterful Roman lords of the world, and shows clearly in the features those qualities of power and leadership which so long maintained Roman supremacy

693. Roman painting

In painting, the wall decorators were almost the only surviving practicers of the art. They merely copied the works of the great Greek masters of the Hellenistic Age. Portrait painting, however, flourished, and the hack portrait artist at the street corner, who painted your picture quickly for you on a tablet of wood, was almost as common as our own portrait photographer.[1]

694. Decline of literature; Plutarch's *Lives*

There was now a larger educated public at Rome than ever before, and the splendid libraries maintained by the State were open to all. Authors and literary men were also liberally supported by the emperors. Nevertheless, even under these favorable circumstances not a single genius of great creative

[1] See examples of Roman sculpture and painting in *Ancient Times*, Figs. 197, 251, and Plate VIII, p. 654, and read footnote, ibid. p. 631.

imagination arose. Just as in sculpture and painting, so now in literature, the leaders were content to imitate or copy the great works of the past. Real progress in literature therefore ceased. With this age of Latin literature we should associate at least one immortal work by a Greek, though he did not live at Rome. Plutarch at this time wrote his remarkable series of lives of the greatest men of Greece and Rome. They form an imperishable gallery of heroes which has held the interest and the admiration of the world for eighteen centuries.

695. Lack of scientific attainments at Rome; Pliny's *Natural History*

In science the Romans were always merely collectors of the knowledge gained by the Greeks. During a long and successful official career Pliny devoted himself with great industry to scientific studies. He made a vast collection of the facts then known in science and found in books, chiefly Greek. He put them all together in a huge work which he called "Natural History" — really an encyclopedia. He was so deeply interested in science that he lost his life in the great eruption of Vesuvius, as he was trying both to study the tremendous event at short range, and (as admiral of the fleet) to save the fleeing people of Pompeii (§ 679). But Pliny's "Natural History" did not contain any new facts of importance discovered by the author himself, and it was marred by many errors in matters which Pliny misunderstood. Nevertheless, for hundreds of years, until the revival of science in modern times, Pliny's work was, next to Aristotle, the standard authority referred to by all educated Europeans. Thus men fell into an indolent attitude of mind and were satisfied merely to learn what earlier discoverers had found out. This attitude never would have led to the discovery of the size of the earth as determined by Eratosthenes (§ 473) or in modern times to X-ray photographs or wireless telegraphy.

696. End of investigative science at Alexandria; Ptolemy

A great astronomer and geographer of Alexandria, named Ptolemy, who flourished under Hadrian and the Antonines, was *the last of the famous scientists of the ancient world.* He wrote among other works a handbook on astronomy, mostly taken

from the works of earlier astronomers. In it he unfortunately adopted the conclusion that the sun revolved around the earth as a center. His book became a standard work, and hence this mistaken view of the solar system, called the *Ptolemaic system*, was everywhere accepted by the later world. It was not until four hundred years ago that the real truth, already long before discovered by the Greek astronomer Aristarchus of Samos (§ 472), was rediscovered by the Polish astronomer Copernicus.[1]

697. Cosmopolitan life of Rome

Educated Greeks at Rome, instead of being slaves or teachers in private households as formerly, were now holding important positions in the government or as teachers and professors paid by the government. The city was no longer Roman or Italian; it had become Mediterranean, and many worthy families from the provinces, settling in Rome, had greatly bettered the decadent society of the city. Men of all the world elbowed each other and talked business in the banks and countinghouses of the magnificent new forums; they filled the public offices and administrative departments of the government, and discussed the hand-copied daily paper published by the State; they sat in the libraries and lecture halls of the Roman university and they crowded the lounging places of the public baths and the vast amphitheater. We call such all-inclusive, widely representative life "cosmopolitan" — a word of Greek origin meaning "world-cityish."

698. Incoming of oriental luxuries

This inflow of all the world at Rome was evident in the luxuries now enjoyed by the rich. Roman ladies were decked with diamonds, pearls, and rubies from India, and they robed themselves in shining silks from China. The tables of the rich were bright with peaches, which they called "Persian apples," and with apricots, both now appearing for the first time in the Roman world. Roman cooks learned to prepare rice, formerly an oriental delicacy prescribed for the sick. Horace had

[1] Knowledge of the spherical form of the earth as shown by Ptolemy and earlier Greek astronomers was never lost. It reached the travelers and navigators of later Europe, and finally led Columbus to undertake the voyage to India and the East *westward* — the voyage which resulted in the discovery of America.

amusingly pictured the distress of a miserly Roman when he learned the high price of a dish of rice prescribed by his physician. Instead of sweetening their dishes with honey as formerly, Roman households began to find a new product in the market place known as "sakari"; for so the report of a venturesome oriental sailor of the first century after Christ calls the sirup of sugar cane, which he brought by water from India into the Mediterranean for the first time. This is the earliest mention of sugar in history. These new things from the Orient were beginning to appear in Roman life just as the potatoes, tobacco, and Indian corn of America found their way into Europe after the voyages of Columbus had disclosed a new Western world.

Section 71. Popularity of Oriental Religions and the Spread of Early Christianity

699. Decline of intellectual life and Roman religion

The life of the Orient was at the same time continuing to bring into the Mediterranean other things less easily traced than rice or sugar, but much more important in their influence on the Roman world. These were the oriental religions. The intellectual life of the Empire was steadily declining, as we have seen indicated by literature and science. Thoughtful Romans read Greek philosophy of the Stoics and Epicureans (§ 480) in the charming treatises of Cicero (§ 653). Such readers had given up the old Roman gods and accepted as their religion the precepts of daily conduct which they found in the Stoic or Epicurean philosophy. But such teaching was only for the highly educated and the intellectual class.

700. Egyptian religion in Europe

Nevertheless, such men sometimes followed the multitude and yielded to the fascination of the mysterious religions coming in from the East. Even in Augustus's time the Roman poet Tibullus, absent on a military campaign which sickness had interrupted, wrote to his fiancée Delia in Rome: "What does your Isis for me now, Delia? What avail me those brazen

sistra[1] of hers, so often shaken by your hand? . . . Now, now, goddess, help me; for it is proved by many a picture in thy temples that man may be healed by thee." Tibullus and his fiancée belonged to the most cultivated class, but they had taken refuge in the faith of the Egyptian Isis. What these two had done was being done by multitudes, and temples of Isis were to be found in all the larger cities. To-day tiny statuettes and other symbols of the Egyptian goddess are found even along the Seine, the Rhine, and the Danube.

701. Persian Mithras; popularity of the oriental "mysteries"

In the army the Persian Mithras, a god of light (§ 149), was a great favorite, and many a Roman legion had its underground chapel where its members celebrated his triumph. These and other oriental faiths all had their "mysteries," consisting chiefly of dramatic presentations of the career of the god, especially his submission to death, his triumph over it, and ascent to everlasting life (§ 80). It was believed that to witness these things and to undergo certain holy ceremonies of initiation would bring to those initiated the power to share in the pure and endless life of the god and to dwell with him forever.

702. Decline of Roman religion and the old gods

The old Roman faith had little to do with conduct and held out to the worshiper no such hopes of future blessedness. Little wonder that the multitudes, having forsaken the old gods, were irresistibly attracted by the comforting promises of these oriental faiths and the blessed future to be gained in their "mysteries."

703. Judaism

The Jews, too, since their temple in Jerusalem had been destroyed by the Romans, were to be found in increasing numbers in all the larger cities. Strabo, the geographer, said of them, "This people has already made its way into every city, and it would be hard to find a place in the habitable world which has not admitted this race and been dominated by it." The Roman world was becoming accustomed to their synagogues; but the Jews refused to acknowledge any god besides their own, and this brought them disfavor and trouble with the government.

[1] Egyptian musical instruments played by shaking in the hand.

704. Rise of Christianity

Among all these faiths of the Orient, the common people were more and more inclining toward one, whose teachers told how their Master, Jesus, a Hebrew, was born in Palestine, the land of the Jews, in the days of Augustus. Everywhere they told the people of his vision of human brotherhood and of divine fatherhood. This faith he had preached for a few years, till he incurred the hatred of his countrymen, and in the reign of Tiberius they had put him to death.

705. Paul and the foundation of the earliest churches; the New Testament

A Jewish tentmaker of Tarsus named Paul, a man of passionate eloquence and unquenchable love for his Master, passed far and wide through the cities of Asia Minor and Greece, and even to Rome, proclaiming his Master's teaching. He left behind him a line of devoted communities stretching from Palestine to Rome. Certain letters which he wrote in Greek to his followers were circulating widely among them and were read with eagerness. At the same time a narrative of the Master's life had also appeared, and was now widely read by the common people. There were finally *four* leading biographies of Jesus in Greek, which came to be regarded as authoritative, and these we call the Four Gospels. Along with the letters of Paul and some other writings they were later put together in a Greek book now known in the English translation as the New Testament.

706. Superiority of Christianity over the other oriental religions

The other oriental faiths, in spite of their attractiveness, could not offer to their followers the consolation and fellowship of a life so exalted and beautiful, so full of brotherly appeal and human sympathy as that of the new Hebrew Teacher. The slave and the freedman, the artisan and craftsman, the humble and the despised in the huge barracks which sheltered the poor in Rome, eagerly listened to this new "mystery" from the East, as they thought it to be, and as time passed, multitudes responded and found joy in the hopes which it awakened. In the second century of peace it was rapidly outstripping the other religions of the Roman Empire.

The officers of government often found these early converts, like the Jews, not only refusing to sacrifice to the emperor as

707. Rome persecutes the early Christians

a god, as all good Roman citizens were expected to do, but also openly prophesying the downfall of the Roman State. The early Christians were therefore more than once called upon to endure cruel persecution. Their religion seemed to interfere with good citizenship, since it forbade them to show the usual respect for the emperor and the government. Nevertheless their numbers steadily grew.

Section 72. Marcus Aurelius and the End of the Second Century of Peace

708. Beginning of decline; Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180)

In spite of outward prosperity, especially suggested by the magnificent buildings of the Empire, Mediterranean civilization was declining in the second century of peace. The decline became noticeable in the reign of Hadrian. Then the noble emperor Marcus Aurelius was called upon to face a very serious situation.

709. Marcus Aurelius stops the barbarian invasion (A.D. 167–180)

After his army had been seriously reduced in numbers by a four years' war with the Parthians and by a terrible plague, the barbarian hordes in the German North broke through the frontier defenses (Fig. 114), and for the first time in two centuries they poured down into Italy (A.D. 167). The two centuries of peace were ended. With little intermission, until his death in A.D. 180, Marcus Aurelius maintained the struggle against the Germans in the region later forming Bohemia.

710. Marcus Aurelius begins the policy of settling barbarians *inside* the frontiers

In spite of victory over the barbarians, Marcus Aurelius was unable to sweep them entirely out of the northern regions of the Empire. He finally took the very dangerous step of allowing some of them to remain as farmer colonists on lands assigned to them *inside the frontier*. This policy later resulted in very serious consequences to the Empire.

711. Character of Marcus Aurelius

Nevertheless, the ability and enlightened statesmanship of Marcus Aurelius are undoubted. Indeed, they were only equaled by the purity and beauty of his personal life. Amid the growing anxieties of his position, even as he sat in his tent

and guided the operations of the legions among the forests of Bohemia, he found time to record his thoughts and leave to the world a little volume of meditations written in Greek. As the aspirations of a gentle and chivalrous heart toward pure and noble living, these meditations are among the most precious legacies of the past. But no ruler, however pure and unselfish his purposes, could stop the processes of decline going on in the midst of the great Roman world. Following the two centuries of peace, therefore, we now pass on to a fearful century of revolution, civil war, and anarchy, from which a very different Roman world emerged.

QUESTIONS

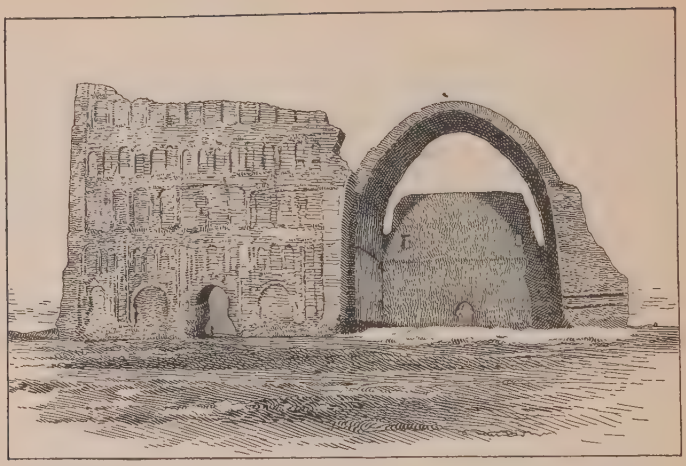
SECTION 68. What two great tasks were to be accomplished by the emperors of the second century of peace? Discuss the wars of Trajan. What did Hadrian do for the defenses? Describe the army. Tell about important developments in the internal organization of the Empire; in its laws; in the emperor's attention to the provinces.

SECTION 69. Indicate the extent and mention the chief peoples of the Roman Empire. Tell the story of Pompeii. What civilization prevailed in the eastern Mediterranean? Describe its communications and commerce; the life of the provincial towns, especially education; Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. What was the language of the West? Describe its surviving monuments. What do the Roman buildings still show us regarding the position, the shape, and the extent of the Roman Empire?

SECTION 70. Tell about the buildings of the emperors at Rome; sculpture and painting; literature and science; the cosmopolitan life of Rome; its oriental luxuries.

SECTION 71. What was the state of religion in the Empire? What was the situation of the oriental religions among the Romans? Mention the leading ones and give an account of them, especially Christianity. How did its sacred book arise? What danger threatened the early Christians?

SECTION 72. What was the state of civilization in the second century of peace? What brought this period to an end? under whom? What dangerous step did he take? Describe his character and writings. What followed the two centuries of peace?



CHAPTER XX

A CENTURY OF REVOLUTION AND THE DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE

Section 73. Internal Decline of the Roman Empire

712. Signs of inner decay: former decline of farming continues

We have seen good government, fine buildings, education, and other evidences of civilization more widespread in the second century of peace than ever before. Nevertheless, the great Empire which we have been studying was suffering from an

Note. The above headpiece shows us the surviving ruins of the royal palace at Ctesiphon on the Tigris (see Map II, p. 336), once the capital of New Persia. The tiny human figure in one doorway will indicate to us the vast size of the building. The huge vault on the right was built over the enormous hall below, without any supporting timbers during the course of construction. It is eighty-four feet across and is the largest masonry vault of its age still standing in Asia. Here the magnificent kings of New Persia held their splendid court, imitated by the weak Roman emperors at Constantinople (§ 741). Note the situation of Babylon as a river station on the great highway between Asia Minor and the East (map, p. 232). Ctesiphon, situated almost within sight of Babylon, was but one in a succession of powerful capitals, occupying this great river crossing: Akkad (§ 107), Babylon (§ 109), Ctesiphon (§ 728), and, finally, Bagdad (§ 000). As the author writes, a British expedition, after fighting a battle under the shadow of these ruins of Ctesiphon, has taken Bagdad and holds Mesopotamia under the British flag.

inner decay. In the first place, the decline of farming, so noticeable before the fall of the Republic (§§ 590 ff.), had gone steadily on.

713. Spread of the oriental domain system of landownership; villas

Land had continued to pass over into the hands of the rich and powerful. A rich man's estate was called a *villa*, and the system of villa estates, having destroyed the small farmers of Italy (§§ 587–592), was likewise now destroying them in the provinces also. Villas now covered not only Italy but also Africa, Gaul, Britain, Spain, and other leading provinces.

714. Rise of *coloni* and decline of slavery

Unable to compete with the great villas, and finding the burden of taxes unbearable, most of the small farmers gave up the struggle. Such a farmer would often enter upon an arrangement which made him the *colonus* of some wealthy villa owner. By this arrangement the farmer and his descendants were forever bound by law to the land which they worked, and they passed with it from owner to owner when it changed hands. While not actually slaves, they were not free to leave or go where they pleased. The great villas once worked by slaves were now cultivated chiefly by these *coloni* (plural of *colonus*), and slaves had steadily diminished in numbers.

715. Decrease in extent of cultivated lands and diminishing food supply

Multitudes of the country people, unwilling to become *coloni*, forsook their fields and turned to the city for relief. Great stretches of unworked and weed-grown fields were no uncommon sight. As the amount of land under cultivation decreased, the ancient world was no longer raising enough food to feed itself properly. The scarcity was felt most severely in the great centers of population like Rome, where prices had rapidly gone up. Our own generation, afflicted in the same way, is not the first to complain of the "high cost of living."

716. Disappearance of the farmers and Rome's inability to restore them

Offers by the emperor to give land to anyone who would undertake to cultivate it failed to increase the amount of land under the plow. The destruction of the small farmers and the inability of Rome to restore them formed the leading cause among a whole group of causes which brought about the decline and fall of this great Empire.

717. Decline of population; debasing influences of city life

The country people who moved to Rome were only bringing about their own destruction as a class. The large families which country life favors were no longer reared, the number of marriages decreased, and the population of the Empire shrank. Debased by the life of the city, the once sturdy farmer lost his independence in an eager scramble for a place in the waiting line of city poor, to whom the government distributed free grain, wine, and meat. The city became a great hive of shiftless population supported by the State, with money which the struggling agriculturist was taxed to provide. The same situation was in the main to be found in all the leading cities.

718. Decline of citizenship in the cities

In spite of outward splendor, therefore, the cities too were declining. They had now learned to depend upon Rome to care for them even in their own local affairs, and their citizens had lost all sense of public responsibility (§ 677). The helpful rivalry between neighboring city-states too had long ago ceased. Everywhere the leading men of the cities were indifferently turning away from public life. Responsible citizenship, which does so much to develop the best among the people of any community and which had earlier so sadly declined in Greece (§ 486), was passing away, never to reappear in the ancient world.

719. Decline of business

At the same time the financial and business life of the cities was also declining. The country communities no longer possessed a numerous purchasing population. Hence the city manufacturers could no longer dispose of their products in the country. They rapidly declined, and discharged their workmen, who began to increase the multitudes of the city poor. City business was also much hurt by a serious lack in the amount of coined money in circulation.

720. Lack of precious metals for coinage and debasement of coins

For a number of reasons the government was unable to secure enough precious metals to coin the money necessary for the transaction of business. The emperors were obliged to begin mixing with their silver an increasing amount of less valuable metals and coining this cheaper alloy. The surviving

Roman coins show us that the coins of Augustus were pure, while those of Marcus Aurelius contain twenty-five per cent of alloy. A *denarius*, the common small coin worth when pure nearly twenty cents (Fig. 102), a century after the death of Marcus Aurelius was worth only half a cent.

721. Decline of the army; the frontier legions become militia

It was impossible to maintain a paid army without money. As it became quite impossible to collect taxes *in money*, the government was obliged to accept grain and produce as payment of taxes. Here and there the army was then paid in grain. On the frontiers, for lack of other pay, the troops were assigned lands, which of course did them no good unless they could cultivate them. So they were allowed to marry and to live with their families in little huts on their lands near the frontier. They soon lost all discipline, became merely feeble militia, called by the Roman government "frontiersmen" (*limitanei*).

722. Demoralization of army and State caused by lack of a law of succession

This degeneration of the army was much hastened by a serious imperfection in the organization of the Roman State, left there by Augustus. This was the lack of a legal and long-respected method of choosing a new emperor, or of transferring the power from one emperor to the next and thus maintaining from reign to reign without a break the supreme authority in the Roman State. The troops found that they could make a new emperor whenever the old emperor's death gave them an opportunity. For an emperor so made they had very little respect, and if he attempted to enforce discipline among them, they put him out of the way and appointed another. Rude and barbarous mercenary soldiers, few of whom were citizens, thus became the highest authority in the State.

723. Rise of the provinces to a level with Italy and resulting competition

Finally, the spread of civilization to the provinces had resulted in the feeling that they were the equals of Rome and Italy itself. When, in A.D. 212, citizenship was granted to all free men within the Empire, in whatever province they lived, the provinces gained more and more opportunity to compete for the leadership of the Empire.

Section 74. A Century of Revolution

724. Beginning of a century of revolution; decline under Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211)

These forces of decline were bringing swiftly on a century of revolution which was to shipwreck the civilization of the early world. This fatal century began with the death of Marcus Aurelius, in A.D. 180. The assassination of his unworthy son Commodus, who reminds us of Nero, was the opportunity for a struggle among a group of military usurpers. From this struggle a rough but successful soldier named Septimius Severus emerged triumphant. He systematically filled the highest posts in the government with military leaders of low origin. Thus, both in the army and in the government, the ignorant and often foreign masses were gaining control.

725. End of the line of Severus (A.D. 235) and the ensuing civil wars among provincial emperors

When the line of Severus ended (A.D. 235), the storm broke. The barbaric troops in one province after another set up their puppet emperors to fight among themselves for the throne of the Mediterranean world. The proclamation of a new emperor would be followed again and again by news of his assassination. From the leaders of the barbaric soldier class, after the death of Commodus, the Roman Empire received eighty rulers in ninety years. Most of these so-called emperors were not unlike the revolutionary bandits who proclaim themselves presidents of Mexico.

726. Fifty years of anarchy and the collapse of higher civilization

For fifty years there was no public order, as the plundering troops tossed the scepter of Rome from one soldier emperor to another. Life and property were nowhere safe; robbery and murder were everywhere. The disorder and fighting between rival emperors hastened the ruin of all business, till national bankruptcy ensued. In this tempest of anarchy during the third century of our era the civilization of the ancient world fell into final ruin. The leadership of mind and of scientific knowledge won by the Greeks in the *third century* B.C. (§ 471) yielded to the reign of ignorance and superstition in these disasters of the *third century* of the Christian era.

727. Barbarian raids

As the Roman army weakened, the Northern barbarians were quick to perceive the helplessness of the Empire. They crossed

the frontiers and penetrated far into Greece and Italy; in the West they overran Gaul and Spain, and some of them even crossed to Africa.

728. Rise of New Persia (A. D. 226) under her Sassanian kings

At the same time a new danger had arisen in the East. A revival of patriotism among the old Persian population had resulted in a vigorous restoration of their national life. Their leaders, a family called Sassanians (or Sassanids), overthrew the Parthians (A. D. 226) and furnished a new line of enlightened Persian kings. As they took possession of the Fertile Crescent and established their capital at Ctesiphon on the Tigris, close by Babylon, a new Orient arose on the ruins of seemingly dead and forgotten ages. The Sassanian kings organized a much more powerful State than that of the Parthians which they overthrew, and they regarded themselves as the rivals of the Romans for the Empire of the world. The old rivalry between the Orient and the West, as in the days of Greece and Persia, was now continued, with Rome as the champion of the West, and this New Persia as the leader of the East.

729. Aurelian (A. D. 270–275) recovers the East and Gaul; Diocletian restores order (A. D. 284)

It now looked as if the Roman Empire were about to fall to pieces, when one of the soldier emperors, named Aurelian (A. D. 270–275), defeated all his rivals and restored some measure of order and safety. But, in order to protect Rome from the future raids of the barbarians, he built entirely around the great city the massive wall (see Plan, p. 320) which still stands, — a confession of the dangerous situation of Rome in the third century of our era. It was a little over a century after the death of Marcus Aurelius when the emperor Diocletian restored what looked like a lasting peace (A. D. 284).

If at this point we look back some four hundred years over the history of Rome since she had become mistress of the world, we discern three great periods.[1] With the foundation of the Empire by Augustus there began two centuries of peace,

[1] Periods of history do not begin or end abruptly. There is always a gradual transition from one to the next, and the dates in this paragraph merely suggest the points at which the transition was very evident.

730. Summary of four centuries of Roman imperialism culminating in Diocletian (A.D. 284)

and this period of peace was both preceded and followed by a century of revolution. We have thus seen a century of revolution, which destroyed the Republic and introduced the Empire; two centuries of peace under the Empire; and then a second century of revolution which almost destroyed and completely altered the Empire. The first century of revolution led from the Gracchus brothers to the triumph of one-man power and the foundation of the Empire by Augustus (that is, about 133 to 30 B.C.). The two centuries of peace beginning with the foundation of the Empire by Augustus continued to the barbarian invasion in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (that is, about 30 B.C. to nearly A.D. 170). The second century of revolution led from the enlightened reign of Marcus Aurelius to oriental despotism under Diocletian (that is, about A.D. 180 to about 284). Thus four centuries of Roman imperialism, after bringing forth such masterful men as Sulla and Julius Cæsar, had passed through various stages of one-man power, to end in despotism. We are now first to examine that despotism and then to see how it was overwhelmed by two centuries of barbarian invasions from the North, while at the same time it was also crushed by the reviving power of the Orient, whose assaults were to last many centuries more (see Map II, p. 336).

Section 75. The Roman Empire an Oriental Despotism

731. Diocletian (A.D. 284–305); the Roman Empire an oriental despotism

The world which issued from the disasters of this second revolution toward the end of the third century of the Christian era under Diocletian was a totally different one from that which Augustus and the Roman Senate had ruled three centuries before. Diocletian deprived the shadowy Senate of all power except that of governing the city of Rome. The Roman Senate, reduced to a mere City Council, a Board of Aldermen, then disappeared from the stage of history. The emperor thus became an absolute monarch with none to limit his power.

The State had been completely militarized and orientalized. With the unlimited power of the oriental despot the emperor now assumed also its outward symbols, — the diadem, the gorgeous robe embroidered with pearls and precious stones, the throne and footstool, before which all who came into his presence must bow down to the dust.

732. Emperor an oriental Sun-god; end of democracy, triumph of despotism

Long regarded as a divinity, the emperor had now become an oriental Sun-god and he was officially called the "Invincible Sun." His birthday was on the twenty-fifth of December. All were obliged as good citizens to join in the official sacrifices to the head of the State as a god. With the incoming of this oriental attitude toward the emperor, the long struggle for democracy, which we have followed through so many centuries of the history of early man, ended in the triumph of oriental despotism.

733. Diocletian resides in the East and appoints an emperor of the West

War with New Persia, the new oriental enemy, carried the emperor much to the East. The result was that Diocletian resided most of the time at Nicomedia in Asia Minor (see Map II, p. 336). As a natural consequence the emperor was unable to give close attention to the West. Following some earlier examples, and perhaps remembering the two consuls of the old Republic, Diocletian therefore appointed another emperor to rule jointly with himself, to give his attention to the West. It was not Diocletian's intention to divide the Roman Empire, any more than it had been the purpose to divide the Republic in electing two consuls. The final result was, nevertheless, the division of the Roman Empire into East and West.

734. Diocletian's administrative organization; oppressive taxation

The provinces of the Empire were by this time over a hundred in number. Diocletian and his successors organized the business of each province in the hands of a great number of local officials graded into many successive ranks and classes from high to low. There was an unbroken chain of connection from the lowest of these up through various ranks to the governor, and then finally to the emperor himself. The financial burden of this vast organization, together with the luxurious

oriental court of the emperor, was enormous. For this multitude of government and court officials and the clamorous army had all to be paid and supported. As a result of ever increasing taxation, the situation had grown steadily worse since the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

735. Bad methods of tax collection

When the scarcity of coin (§ 720) forced the government to accept grain and produce from the taxpayers, taxes had become a mere share in the yield of the lands. The Roman Empire thus sank to a primitive system of taxation already thousands of years old in the Orient. It was now customary to oblige a group of wealthy men in each city to become responsible for the payment of the entire taxes of the district each year, and if there was a deficit, these men were forced to make up the lacking balance out of their own wealth. The penalty of wealth seemed to be ruin, and there was no motive for success in business when such prosperity meant ruinous overtaxation.

736. Loss of both farmers and business men; obligatory practice of occupations

The Roman Empire had already lost, and had never been able to restore, its prosperous *farming class*. It now lost likewise its enterprising and successful *business men*. Diocletian therefore endeavored to force these classes to continue their occupations. He enacted laws forbidding any man to forsake his lands or occupation.

737. Disappearance of liberty and free citizenship

Thus under this oriental despotism the liberty for which men had striven so long disappeared in Europe, and the once free Roman citizen had no independent life of his own. Even the citizen's wages and the prices of the goods he bought or sold were as far as possible fixed for him by the State. The emperor's innumerable officials kept an eye upon even the humblest citizen. They watched the grain dealers, butchers, and bakers, and saw to it that they properly supplied the public and never deserted their occupation. In some cases the State even forced the son to follow the profession of his father. In a word, the Roman government now attempted to regulate almost every interest in life, and wherever the citizen turned he felt the control and oppression of the State.

15° West 10° from 5° Greenwich 0° 5° 10° Longitude 15° East
55°
50°
45°
40°
35°
30°
ATLANTIC OCEAN
North Sea
Baltic
DENMARK
IRELAND
DIOCESE OF BRITAIN
London
Thames
English Channel
BELGIUM
FRANCE
Rhine
Elbe
SAXONS
GERMANIA
Cologne
BOHEMIA
Seine
Chalons
Treves
Strassburg
Paris
DIOCESE OF GAUL
ALEMANNI
Danube
Salzburg
DIOCESE OF
Tours
GAUL
Lyons
Milan
Aquileia
Verona
Ravenna
Mt. Cenis
Genoa
Po
Adriatic
Marseilles
Corsica
ROME
Capua
Misenum
Naples
Sardinia
Ebro
SPAIN
Tagus
WESTERN EMPIRE
Balearic Isles
MEDITERRANEAN
Sicily
Strait of Gibraltar
Zama
Carthage
DIOCESE OF AFRICA
DIOCESE OF
AFRICA
SAHARA
10°
ROMAN EMPIRE
AS ORGANIZED BY DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE
Boundary Line of the Empire
Line of Division between the Eastern and Western Empires
Prefecture of the Orient
Prefecture of Illyricum
Prefecture of Italy
Prefecture of Gaul
Scale of Statute Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 600

Greenwich
Grass lands
Caspian Sea
Northern Huns
Black Sea
GOTHIS
ROUMANIA
Danube
DIOCESE OF DACIA
BALKAN MTS.
Byzantium
Constantinople
Nicomedia
DIOCESE OF PONTUS
BITHYNIA
Nicæa
Ancyra
GALATIA
ARMENIA
Tigris
Adrianople
THRACE
Philippi
DIOCESE OF MACEDONIA
Pharsalus
Actium
Corinth
Athens
GREECE
Ephesus
ASIA
CARIA
Rhodes
Crete
DIOCESE OF THE EAST
Antioch
Euphrates
MESOPOTAMIA
Palmyra
Damascus
Jerusalem
PALESTINE
SYRIA
Parsus
CILICIA
Ctesiphon
Seleucia
Babylon
NEW PERSIAN EMPIRE
ARABIA
Red Sea
Alexandria
Cyrene
Memphis
Nile
DIOCESE OF EGYPT
EGYPT
Thebes
Tropic of Cancer
Line of Division between the Eastern and Western Empires
REDFIELD-KENDRICK-ODELL CO., N.Y.

738. The citizen a toiler for the State

Staggering under his crushing burden of taxes, in a State which was practically bankrupt, the citizen of every class now seemed like a mere cog in the vast machinery of the government. His whole life consisted of toil for the State, which always collected so much in taxes that he was fortunate if he could survive on what was left. As a mere toiler for the State, he was finally just where the peasant on the Nile had been for thousands of years. The emperor had become a Pharaoh, and the Roman Empire a colossal Egypt of ancient days.

739. End of the progress of higher civilization in the ancient world; future mission of Rome

The century of revolution which ended in the despotic government set up by Diocletian completely destroyed the creative ability of ancient men in art and literature, as it likewise stopped all progress in business and affairs. In so far as the ancient world was one of *progress in civilization*, its history was ended with the accession of Diocletian. Nevertheless, the Roman Empire had still a great mission before it, in the preservation of at least something of the heritage of civilization, which it was to hand down the centuries to us of to-day.

Section 76. The Division of the Empire and the Triumph of Christianity

740. Shift of the center of power from Italy to the Balkan Peninsula

Under Diocletian Italy had been reduced to the position of a taxed province, and had thus lost the last vestige of superiority over the other provinces of the Empire. During the century of revolution just past, the Illyrian soldiers of the Balkan Peninsula had filled the army with the best troops and furnished more than one emperor. An emperor who had risen from the ranks of provincial troops in the Balkans felt little attachment to Rome. Rome had not only ceased to be the residence of an emperor, but the center of power had clearly shifted from Italy to the Balkan Peninsula.

After the struggles following Diocletian's death, the emperor Constantine the Great emerged victorious (A. D. 324). He did not hesitate to turn to the eastern edge of the Balkan Peninsula

741. Constantine (A.D. 324–337) makes Constantinople his residence and seat of government (A.D. 330)

and establish there a New Rome as his residence. He chose the ancient Greek town of Byzantium, on the European side of the Bosporus, a magnificent situation overlooking both Europe and Asia, and fitted to be a center of power in both. In placing his new capital here, Constantine established a city the importance of which was only equaled by the foundation of Alexandria in Egypt. The emperor stripped many an ancient city of its great monuments in order to secure materials for the beautification of his splendid residence (Fig. 121). By A.D. 330 the new capital on the Bosporus was a magnificent monumental city, worthy to be the successor of Rome as the seat of the Mediterranean Empire. It was named Constantinople ("Constantine's city") after its founder.

742. Constantinople and the separation of East and West; continuance of decline

The transfer of the capital of the Roman Empire to the east side of the Balkan Peninsula meant the separation of East and West — the cutting of the Roman Empire in two. Although the separation did not take place abruptly, yet within a generation after Constantinople was founded, the Roman Empire had in fact if not in name become two states, and they were never more than temporarily united again. Thus the founding of Constantinople sealed the doom of Rome and the western Mediterranean lands of the Empire.

743. The churches a new arena for the rise of able men

Meantime the Christian churches had steadily increased in numbers. As their influence grew, they more and more needed the guidance of able men. The management of the great Christian communities and their churches called for increasing ability and experience. Public discussion and disputes in the Church meetings enabled gifted men to stand forth, and their ability brought them position and influence. The Christian Church thus became a new arena for the development of statesmanship, and Church statesmen were soon to be the leading influential men of the age, when the city democracies had long since ceased to produce such men.

These officers of the Church gradually devoted themselves more and more to Church duties until they had no time for

anything else. They thus came to be distinguished from the other members and were called the *clergy*, while the people who made up the membership were called the *laymen*, or the *laity*. The old men who cared for the smaller country congregations

744. The Church a powerful organization: priests, bishops, and archbishops

FIG. 121. ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN CONSTANTINOPLE

The obelisk in the foreground (nearly one hundred feet high) was first set up in Thebes, Egypt, by the conqueror Thutmose III (§ 74); it was erected here by the Roman Emperor Theodosius (§ 755). The small spiral column at the right is the base of a bronze tripod set up by the Greeks at Delphi (Fig. 74) in commemoration of their victory over the Persians at Platæa (§ 327). The names of thirty-one Greek cities which took part in the battle are still to be read, engraved on this base. These monuments of ancient oriental and Greek supremacy stand in what was the Roman horse-race course when the earlier Greek city of Byzantium became the eastern capital of Rome (§ 741). Finally, the great mosque behind the obelisk, with its slender minarets, represents the triumph of Islam under the Turks, who took the city in A.D. 1453

were finally called merely *presbyters*, a Greek word meaning "old men," and our word "priest" is derived from this Greek term. Over the group of churches in each city, a leading priest gained authority as *bishop*. In the larger cities these bishops

had such influence that they became *archbishops*, or head bishops, having authority over the bishops in the surrounding cities of the province. Thus, Christianity, once the faith of the weak and the despised, became a powerful organization, strong enough to cope with the government.

745. Christianity placed on a legal basis with other religions (A.D. 311)

The Roman government therefore began to see the uselessness of persecuting the Christians. In the time of Diocletian his associate Galerius, feeling the dangers threatening Rome from *without* and the uselessness of the struggle against the Christians *within*, issued a decree, in A.D. 311, by which Christianity was legally recognized. Its followers received the same legal position granted to the worshipers of the old gods. This decree was also maintained by Constantine.

746. Julian "the Apostate" (A.D. 361–363)

The victory of Christianity was not yet final however. After Constantine's sons and nephews had spent years in fighting for the crown, which one of the sons held for a time, the survivor among the group was Constantine's nephew Julian, the ablest emperor since the second century of peace. Like Marcus Aurelius, he was a philosopher on the throne, for he was devoted to the old literature and philosophy of the Greeks. He therefore renounced Christianity and did all that he could to retard its progress and to restore Hellenistic religion and civilization. He was an able general also. He defeated the German barbarians in the West; but while leading his army in the East against the New Persians he died. The Church called him Julian "the Apostate"; he was the last of the Roman emperors to oppose Christianity.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 73. What had become of the small farmers in the Roman Empire? What system had resulted? What was happening to the cultivated lands? What was the effect on the food supply? on the great cities? on citizenship? on business? What happened to coined money? What was the effect on the army? What resulted?

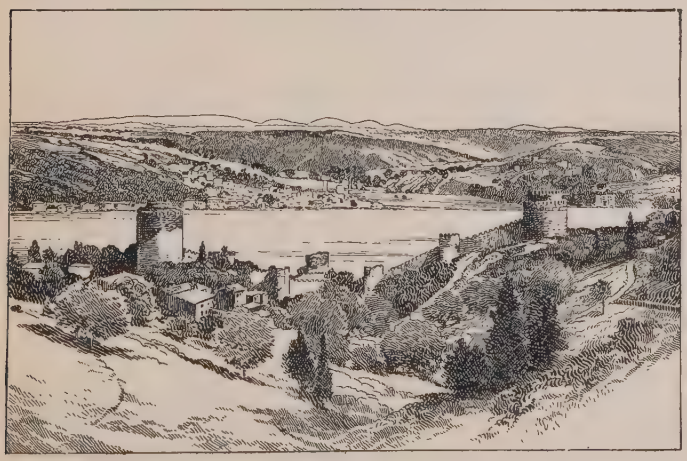
SECTION 74. What was the policy of Severus? How may we contrast the third century of our era with the third century B.C.? What

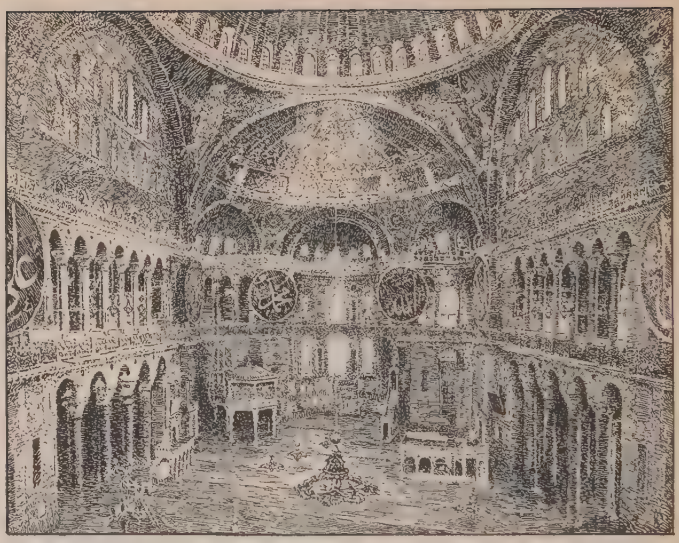
did the northern barbarians do? What happened in the Orient? What two men saved the Empire? When? Divide up into three great periods the first four centuries of Roman leadership of the Mediterranean world. To what had four centuries of Roman imperialism led?

SECTION 75. What kind of State was organized by Diocletian? Where did Diocletian chiefly reside? What did he do with the West? Tell of his administrative organization and taxation. What happened to successful business men? How did Diocletian treat the various occupations? What thus became of the citizen? What happened to civilization?

SECTION 76. How did the emperors now regard Rome? What did Constantine do? How did this affect the Empire? Describe the development and organization of the Church. How did the Empire now treat the Church?

NOTE. The view below places us on the *European* shore of the Bosporus, and we look eastward to the *Asiatic* shore, with the mountains behind, rising to the table-land of central Asia Minor. Just south of us (at the right) on the same shore is Constantinople; a little to the north (the left) is the place where Darius the Great probably built his bridge when he first invaded Europe. The towers and walls before us are part of a fortress built by the Turkish conquerors when they crossed from Asia for the conquest of Constantinople in A. D. 1453 (§ 788).





CHAPTER XXI

THE TRIUMPH OF THE BARBARIANS AND THE END OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

Section 77. The Barbarian Invasions and the Fall of the Western Empire[1]

747. The barbarian danger

We have often met the Indo-European barbarians who occupied northern Europe, behind the civilized belt on the north of the Mediterranean. Since the days of the Stone Age men this

[1] This account of the absorption of the western part of the ancient world by the barbarians is here necessarily very brief. A fuller presentation of this period will be found in Robinson's *Medieval and Modern Times* (chaps. ii–v).

Note. The above headpiece shows us the interior of the famous church of St. Sophia, built at Constantinople by Justinian from 532 to 537 A.D. (§ 779). The first church on this spot was of the usual basilica form (Fig. 123, *5*), but Justinian's architects preferred an oriental dome. They therefore roofed the great church with a gigantic dome 183 feet high at the center, sweeping clear across the audience room and producing the most imposing vaulted interior now surviving from

northern region had never advanced to a high civilization. Its barbarian peoples had been a frequent danger to the fringe of civilized nations along the Mediterranean. We recall how the Gauls overwhelmed northern Italy, even capturing Rome, and how they then overflowed into the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor (§§ 460, 519, 521). We remember the terror at Rome when the Germans first came down, and how they were only defeated by a supreme effort under the skillful soldier Marius (§ 603).

748. Former Roman superiority, and later inferiority to barbarian armies

By superior organization the Romans had been able to feed and to keep together at a given point for a long time a larger number of troops than the barbarians. This was the secret of Cæsar's success against them (§ 618). During the century of revolution after the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Roman army organization had gone to pieces and the barbarians raided the lands of the Empire without hindrance. After such raids the barbarians commonly withdrew. By the time of Diocletian, however, the barbarians were beginning to form permanent settlements within the limits of the Empire, and there followed two centuries of barbarian migration, in the course of which they took possession of the entire western Mediterranean world.

749. The German peoples at home

The Germans were a fair-haired, blue-eyed race of men of towering stature and terrible strength. In their native forests of the North each German people or nation occupied a very limited area, probably not over forty miles across, and in numbers such a people had not usually more than twenty-five or thirty thousand souls. They lived in villages, each of about a hundred families, and there was a head man over each village. Their homes were but slight huts, easily moved. They had little interest in farming the fringe of fields around the village, much preferring their herds, and they shifted their homes often.

the ancient world. Justinian is said to have expended 18 tons of gold and the labor of ten thousand men in the erection of the building. Since the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (1453 A.D.), the vast church has served as a Mohammedan mosque. The Turks have whitewashed the gorgeous mosaics with which the magnificent interior is adorned, and large circular shields bearing the monogram of the Sultan have been hung against the walls.

They possessed no writing and very little in the way of industries, manufactures, or commerce. A group of noble families furnished the leaders (dukes) or sometimes kings, governing the whole people.

750. The German peoples in migration and war

Hardened to wind and weather in their raw Northern climate, their native fearlessness and love of war and plunder often led them to wander, followed by their wives and families in heavy wagons. An entire people might comprise some fifty villages, but each village group remained together, protected by its body of about a hundred warriors, the heads of the village families. When combined, these hundreds made up an army of five to six thousand men. Each hundred held together in battle, as a fighting unit. They all knew each other; the village head man, the leader of the group, had always lived with them; the warrior in the tumult of battle saw all about him his friends and relatives, the sons of his brothers, the husbands of his daughters. In spite of lack of discipline, these fighting groups of a hundred men, united by such ties of blood and daily association, formed battle units as terrible as any ever seen in the ancient world. Their eager joy in battle and the untamed fierceness of their onset made them irresistible.

751. Admission of whole German peoples to settle in the Empire and serve in the army

The highly organized and carefully disciplined Roman legions, which had gained for Rome the leadership of the world, were now no more. Legions made up of the peace-softened townsmen of Diocletian's time, even if they had existed, would have given way before the German fighting groups, as chaff is driven before the wind. Hopeless of being able to drive the Germans back, the emperors had allowed them to settle within the frontiers (§ 710). Even Augustus had permitted this. Indeed, the lack of men for the army had long since led the emperors to hire the Germans as soldiers, and Julius Cæsar's cavalry had been largely barbarian. A more serious step was the admission of *entire* German peoples to live in the Empire in their accustomed manner. The men were then received into the Roman army, but they remained under their own German leaders

and they fought in their old village units. For it was only as the Roman army was made up of the German fighting units that it had any effectiveness. Barbarian life, customs, and manners were thus introduced into the Empire, and the Roman army as a whole was barbarian. At the same time the German leaders of such troops were recognized as Roman officers.

752. The chief German peoples; Julian's defeat of Franks and Alemanni at Strassburg (357 A.D.)

Along the lower Rhine there lived under a king a powerful group of German peoples, called the Franks. The Vandals, also in the North, had long borne an evil reputation for their destructive raids. South of them, the Alemanni had frequently moved over the frontiers, and on the lower Danube the Goths were a constant danger. Constantine's nephew Julian (§ 746) had gained a fierce battle against the Germans at Strassburg (357 A.D.), and had thus stopped the Franks and Alemanni at the Rhine. He established his headquarters at Paris, where he still continued to read his beloved books in the midst of the campaign. The philosopher emperor's stay at Paris fifteen and a half centuries ago, for the first time brought clearly into history that important city of future Europe.

753. German peoples gain some civilization, including writing and Christianity

This constant commingling of the German peoples with the civilized communities of the Empire was gradually softening their Northern wildness and giving them not only familiarity with civilization but also a respect for it. Their leaders, who held office under the Roman government, came to have friends among highborn Romans. Such leaders sometimes married educated Roman women of rank, even close relations of the emperors. Some of them too were converted to Christianity. An educated German of the Goths, a man named Ulfilas, translated the New Testament into Gothic, a dialect akin to German. As the Germanic peoples possessed no writing, he was obliged to devise an alphabet from Greek and Latin for writing Gothic. He thus produced the earliest surviving example of a written Germanic tongue and aided in converting the Northern peoples to Christianity.

754. West Goths pushed across the Danube by the Huns; battle of Adrianople (378 A.D.) the beginning of a century of continuous barbaric migration

At this juncture barbarians of another race, having no Indo-European blood in their veins, had been penetrating Europe from Asia. These people were the Huns. They were the most destructive of all the barbarian invaders. They pushed down upon the lower Danube, and the West Goths (often called Visigoths), fleeing before them, begged the Romans for permission to cross the Danube and settle in the Empire. Valens, who had followed Julian as emperor of the East, gave them permission to do so. Thereupon friction between them and the Roman officials caused them to revolt. In the battle which ensued at Adrianople (378 A.D.), although the Goths could not have had an army of over fifteen thousand men, the Romans, or rather the Germans fighting for them, were defeated, and the emperor Valens himself was killed. Henceforth the helplessness of the Roman Empire was evident to all the world. This movement of the West Goths and the battle of Adrianople were the beginning of a century of continuous migration in which the Western Empire was slowly absorbed by the barbarians and broken up into German kingdoms under German military leaders.

755. Theodosius (379–395 A.D.) restores the Empire

Theodosius, who succeeded Valens at Constantinople, was the last of the great emperors to unite and rule the whole Roman Empire. He came to an understanding with the West Goths, allowing them to settle where they were, taking them into his army, and giving their leaders important posts in the government. But it was only by using the able and energetic Germans themselves as his ministers and commanders that he was able to maintain his empire. He even gave his niece in marriage to his leading military commander, a Vandal named Stilicho, and at his death, in 395 A.D., Theodosius intrusted to this able German the care of his two young sons Honorius and Arcadius.

756. Division of the Empire at death of Theodosius (395 A.D.)

Theodosius divided the Empire between these two youths, giving to Arcadius the East and to Honorius the West. The Empire was never to be united again. Indeed, after the appearance of these two young emperors, the dismemberment

of the Western Empire went rapidly forward, and in two generations resulted in the disappearance of both the Western emperor and his empire (see map, p. 360).

757. West Goths invade Greece and Italy (400 A.D.), take Rome (410 A.D.), and establish a kingdom in Gaul

From both the Danube and the Rhine the movement of the barbarians southward and westward went on. Led by their king Alaric, the West Goths first pushed down from the Danube into the Balkan Peninsula and advanced plundering into Greece, where they even took Athens. Here the German Stilicho, leading German troops, confronted the German invasion and forced it back. Driving their wagons piled high with the plunder of Greece, Alaric led his West Goths into Illyricum, where Arcadius made him official commander. When the faithful Stilicho had been executed on a charge of treason by Honorius, there was no one to oppose Alaric in his invasion of Italy. In 410 A.D. the emperor of the West was thus obliged to look on helplessly while the Gothic host captured and plundered Rome itself.[1] Indeed, when the West Goths, after the death of Alaric, retired from Italy into southwestern Gaul, and later into Spain, Honorius was obliged to recognize the West Gothic kingdom which they set up there.

758. Establishment of Vandal kingdoms in Spain and Africa; Burgundians in Gaul (400-450 A.D.)

While these movements of the West Goths were going on after 400 A.D., the Vandals and two other German peoples had crossed the Rhine, and, advancing through Gaul, they had penetrated into Spain, where these three peoples set up three German kingdoms. These kingdoms, like that of the West Goths in Gaul, acknowledged that they were vassals of Honorius as emperor of the West. Not long after their settlement in Spain, the Vandals sailed across the Strait of Gibraltar and seized the Roman province of Africa (429 A.D.). The African kingdom of the Vandals was likewise recognized by the Western emperor. A little later the German Burgundians had pushed in beside the West Goths and set up a kingdom in southeastern Gaul.

[1] Not long after 400 B.C. Rome was captured by the *Gauls* (§ 521), and a few years after 400 A.D. it was captured by the *Goths*.

759. Western Empire loses Britain and dwindles to Italy

Meantime German peoples located along the North Sea had taken to the water and were landing in the Island of Britain. While Alaric was sacking Rome, the last Roman soldiers were being withdrawn from the island, and within a generation afterward the German tribes of the Angles and Saxons were setting up kingdoms there, which did not acknowledge the sovereignty of Rome. A rival emperor in Gaul was obliged to let the island go, nor could the feeble emperor of the West, in Italy, ever recover it. He was equally helpless as far as any real power over the western German kingdoms was concerned. Within a generation after 400 A. D. the Western Empire had therefore dwindled to Italy itself, and even there the emperor of the West was entirely in the hands of his German officials and commanders.

760. Italy and the West invaded by the Huns (450–453 A.D.); Rome taken by the Vandals (455 A.D.)

In this condition of weakness Italy was subjected to two more serious invasions. The Eastern Empire had not been able to control the Huns who had forced the West Goths across the Danube (§ 754). For two generations since then the kingdom of the Huns had steadily grown in power, until their king Attila governed an empire extending from southern Russia to the Rhine. He laid the Eastern Empire under tribute, and by 450 A. D. he and his terrible barbarian host were sweeping down upon Italy in the most destructive invasion which the South ever suffered. The West Goths, with other western Germans, however, rallied to the assistance of the Western emperor against the common enemy, and in a terrible battle at Chalons, in France, Attila was defeated in 451 A. D. He retreated eastward, and two years later, as he was invading Italy, he died. The Hunnish empire fell to pieces, never to trouble Europe again. Hardly had Rome thus escaped when the Vandals crossed over from Carthage to Sicily and Italy, and in 455 A. D. they captured Rome. Although they carried off great quantities of spoil, they spared the magnificent buildings of the city, as Alaric and his West Goths had also done forty-five years earlier.

761. Last of the emperors at Rome, Romulus Augustulus, displaced by a German leader, Odoacer (476 A.D.)

In Italy, all that was left of the Western Empire, the German military leaders possessed all the power and made and unmade emperors as they pleased. But these *seeming* emperors of the West were now to disappear. By a remarkable coincidence the last to bear the title was called Romulus Augustulus; that is, Romulus, "the little Augustus." He thus bore the names both of the legendary founder of Rome itself and of the founder of the Roman Empire. He was quietly set aside by the German soldiery, who put Odoacer, one of their number, in his place. Thus in 476 A.D., two generations after Theodosius, the last of the Western emperors disappeared. The line of emperors at Rome thus ended a little over five hundred years after it had been established by Augustus. The German leaders in Italy sent word to the Eastern emperor at Constantinople that they acknowledged the sovereignty of the Eastern emperor, who then authorized Odoacer to rule with the title of "patrician."

762. Establishment of an East Gothic kingdom in Italy by Theodoric (493 A.D.)

Meantime another great migration of the barbarians again altered the situation in the West. An eastern branch of the Goths, whom we call, therefore, the East Goths (Ostro-Goths), had remained along the Danube for two generations after their kindred, the West Goths, had departed (§ 754). Then they also shifted westward and southward into Italy, where, in 493 A.D., their king Theodoric the Great displaced Odoacer and made himself king of a strong East Gothic kingdom in Italy. Although he was unable even to read, Theodoric was a wise and highly civilized ruler, and under him Italy began to recover from her misfortunes. His power finally included, besides Italy and Sicily, part of Gaul and Spain, and it at one time seemed that the Western Empire was about to be restored under a German emperor. This restoration of the West was prevented, however, by the rise of Justinian, the last great emperor of the East at Constantinople.

763. Justinian's partial reconquest of the West

After the death of Theodosius (395 A.D.) the Eastern Empire had been ruled by weaklings. Justinian, however, who was crowned at Constantinople in 527 A.D., only a generation after

the rise of Theodoric, was a gifted and energetic ruler. His dream was the restoration of the united Empire. Under his able general Belisarius, he therefore endeavored to reconquer the West. Belisarius overthrew the Vandal kingdom in the province of Africa and then passed over into Italy, where he finally crushed the kingdom of the East Goths. Although disturbed by a serious revolt in Italy, the Eastern emperor's authority was restored in Italy, Sicily, Africa, and southern Spain. But Justinian showed very poor judgment in supposing that the Eastern Empire

FIG. 122. HALL OF AN EGYPTIAN TEMPLE ALTERED INTO A CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Over fifteen hundred years ago, in the reign of Theodosius (379–395 A.D.), not many years before 400 A.D., the temples of the old gods all around the Mediterranean were closed by edict of the emperor. They were then gradually forsaken, as we find them now, or the huts and sun-dried-brick hovels of the poor crowded into them. In some cases a temple hall, once devoted to the worship of the gods, was then converted into a Christian church. In such a hall of the Luxor Temple at Thebes in Egypt, the arched niche we see here was cut into the wall for the pulpit of the preacher, and Greek columns were set up to support a canopy over his head. The pagan relief scenes on the walls were covered with plaster on which Christian saints were painted. This Christian plaster, visible just at the left of the left-hand column, has now largely fallen off and revealed the old pagan pictures, as we see them here still further to the left, where the pictures of the old Egyptian gods have emerged again, to find their former worshipers all vanished

possessed the power again to rule the whole Mediterranean world. His destruction of the East Gothic kingdom in Italy left the peninsula helpless before the next wave of barbaric migration, nor were his successors able to maintain his conquests.

764. Justinian's code compiled

But if political unity failed, the emperor's large plans did succeed in establishing a great judicial or legal unity. He employed a very able lawyer named Tribonian to gather together all the numerous laws which had grown up in the career of Rome since the age of the Twelve Tablets (§ 511) a thousand years before. Justinian was the Hammurapi of the Roman Empire, and the vast body of laws which he collected represented the administrative experience of the most successful rulers of the ancient world. Almost every situation and every difficulty arising in social life, in business transactions, or in legal proceedings had been met and settled by Roman judges. The collection of their decisions arranged by Justinian in brief form was called a digest. Justinian's Digest became the foundation of law for later ages, and still remains so to a large extent in the government of the civilized peoples of to-day.

765. End of the old temples

Under Justinian Constantinople enjoyed wide recognition and the emperor gave lavishly for its beautification. But it was no longer for building the old temples of the gods or basilicas and amphitheaters that the ruler gave his wealth. The old world of Greek civilization had received its last support from Julian, two centuries earlier (§ 746). Theodosius, the last emperor to rule the entire Empire, had forbidden the worship of the old gods and issued a decree closing all their temples. Since 400 A.D. the splendid temples of the gods, which fringed the Mediterranean (Fig. 81) and extended far up the Nile (Fig. 28), were left more and more forsaken by their worshipers, till finally they were deserted and desolate as they are to-day, or they were altered for use as Christian churches (Fig. 122). The last blow to what the Church regarded as Greek paganism was now struck by Justinian, who closed the schools of philosophy forming the university at Athens. The buildings to which the

emperor now devoted his wealth were churches. The vast church of Saint Sophia which he built at Constantinople still stands to-day, the most magnificent of the early churches of the East (headpiece, p. 366).

766. Division of the Church into East and West

Just as this building shows its oriental origin in its architecture, so did the teachings of the Church in the Eastern Empire. The efforts of Justinian to unite East and West failed to a large extent because of the jealousy of the oriental churches and the power of the Western Church. A division was therefore steadily developing between the Eastern (Greek) Church and the Western (Latin) Church. For while the dismemberment of the Western Empire, which we have followed, was still going on, there was arising at Rome an emperor of the Church, who was in no small degree the heir to the lost power of the Western emperor. As there had been an Empire of the East and an Empire of the West, so there were to be also a Church of the East and a Church of the West. To the Western Church we must now turn.

Section 78. The Triumph of Christianity and its Power over the Western Nations

767. Unique position of Rome, and the bishop of Rome

The venerable city of Rome, with its long centuries as mistress of the world behind it, had gained a position of unique respect and veneration, even among the barbarians. The Goths and the Vandals had stood in awe and reverence under the shadow of its magnificent public buildings. They had left them uninjured, and in all its monumental splendor, Rome was still the greatest city of the world, rivaled only by Constantinople and Alexandria, the two other imperial cities. It was natural that the bishop of Rome should occupy a position of unusual power and respect. When the West Goths were threatening the city, and also in other important crises caused by the incoming of the barbarians, the bishop of Rome had more than once showed an ability which made him the leading statesman

of Italy, if not of the West. There is no doubt that his influence had much to do with the respect which the West Goths and the Vandals had shown toward the city in sparing its buildings.

768. Early rise of influential men in the African Church: Augustine (354–430 A.D.)

At the same time the Church throughout the West had early produced able men. This was especially true in Africa, the province behind Carthage, where the leading early Christian writers had appeared. The bishop of Carthage was soon a serious rival of the bishop of Rome, and their rivalry in Christian times curiously reminds us of the long past struggle between the two cities. Here in Africa in the days of Theodosius, Augustine, the greatest of the thinkers of the early Church, had arisen. Not at first a Christian, the young Augustine had been devoted to Greek philosophy and learning. At the same time he gave way to evil habits and uncontrolled self-indulgence. As he gained a vision of spiritual self-denial, his faithful Christian mother, Monica, followed him through all the tremendous struggle and distress of mind, from which he emerged at last into a triumphant conquest of his lower nature, and the devotion of his whole soul to Christianity. In a volume of "Confessions" he told the story, which soon became the never-failing guide of the tempted in the Christian Church. Along with the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, it belongs among the most precious revelations of the inner life of a great man which we have inherited.

769. Augustine's "City of God," and the power of Church and State over the beliefs of men

In the days after Alaric had plundered Rome, and earthly government seemed to totter, Augustine also wrote a great treatise which he called "The City of God," meaning the government of God. Opposed to the governments of this world and superior to them, he pictured an invisible kingdom of God, to which all Christian believers belonged. But this invisible kingdom was after all hardly distinguished by Augustine from the visible organized Church with its bishops and priests. To the authority of this eternal kingdom—that is, to the authority of the Church—all believers were urged by Augustine to submit without reservation. In the teaching of Augustine, therefore, the

Church gained complete control over the beliefs of men. This was at the very same time when the Edict of Theodosius was closing the temples of the old gods. The State was thus assuming the power to suppress all other beliefs, and henceforth it maintained its power over both the bodies and the minds of its subjects. In accordance with this idea Justinian had closed the university at Athens in order to stop freedom of thought and the teaching of the old philosophy (§ 765). To the authority of the State over the beliefs of its people, Augustine added the authority of the Church. Thus ended all intellectual liberty in the ancient world.

770. Growing power of Church of Rome

Augustine, moreover, recognized the leadership of the Church at Rome, and thus added his influence to a tendency already long felt by all (§ 767). For it was widely believed that Christ had conferred great power in the Church upon the Apostle Peter. Although it was known that Paul had also worked in Rome, early tradition told how Peter had founded the Church at Rome and become bishop there. It was also widely held that Peter had transferred his authority to his successors as bishops at Rome. Tradition thus aided in establishing the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

771. Rise of missionary monks and spread of regard for the Roman Church in the North

As increasing numbers of men withdrew from worldly occupations and gathered in communities, called monasteries, to lead holy lives or to help carry the Christian faith to the Northern barbarians, these beliefs regarding the Church of Rome went with them. Such monks, as they were called, taught the barbarians that the Church also had power over the life hereafter. Dreading frightful punishments beyond the grave, the superstitious peoples of the North submitted readily to such influences, and the Church gained enormous power over the barbarians. It was a power wielded more and more exclusively by the bishop of Rome.

When the power of the Roman Empire was no longer able to restrain the barbarians, the influence of the Church held them in check. The Church gradually softened and modified the fierce

instincts of barbarian kings ruling over barbarian peoples. The barrier of Roman organization and of Roman legions which had protected Mediterranean civilization had given way, but the Church, taking its place, made possible the transference of power from the Roman Empire to the barbarians in the West, without the complete destruction of our heritage of civilization bequeathed us by Greece and Rome.

772. Value of the influence of the Church over the barbarians

Less than a generation after the death of Justinian, a gifted bishop of Rome named Gregory, commonly called Gregory the Great, showed himself a statesman of such wisdom and ability that he firmly established the leadership of the Roman Church. Italy, left defenseless by Justinian's destruction of the East Gothic kingdom (§ 763), was thereupon invaded by the Lombards ("Longbeards"), the least civilized of all the German barbarians, who easily took possession of the Po valley. The Lombards were divided into small and rather weak communities. Thus the fallen Western Empire was not followed by a powerful and enduring nation in Italy, and this gave to the bishops of Rome the opportunity so well used by Gregory, to make themselves the leaders of Italy. It was this great Church ruler who also sent missionary monks to Britain, and thus established Christianity in England two centuries after the Roman legions had left it.

773. Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome (590–604 A.D.)

The influence of the Roman Church was likewise extended among the powerful Franks (§ 752), a group of German tribes on the lower Rhine. Their king, Clovis, accepted Christianity not long before 500 A.D. He succeeded in welding together the Frankish tribes, and the kingdom he left had been steadily growing for over a century before Gregory's time. After Gregory's death this Frankish kingdom included a large part of western Europe, embracing, besides western Germany, the countries which we now call Holland, Belgium, and France. By the middle of the sixth century the Frankish kings had fallen under the influence of a family of their own powerful household stewards called "Mayors of the Palace," who at last

774. Rise of the Franks and the "Mayors of the Palace"

really held the ruling power, though in the name of the king. After 700 A.D. the Mayor of the Palace, who actually governed the great Frankish kingdom, was Charles Martel. He saved Europe from being overrun by the Moslems (732 A.D.) (see § 784), and his descendants became the greatest kings of the Franks.

775. Alliance of Charlemagne and the Pope; Charlemagne's coronation by the Pope (800 A.D.)

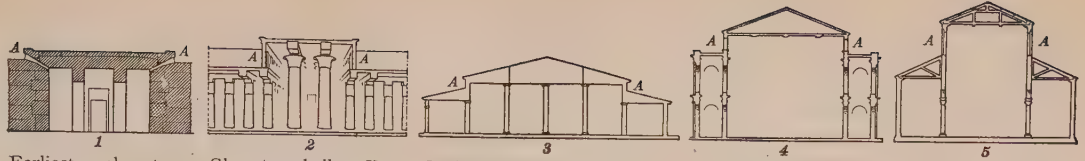
By combining with the bishop of Rome, whom we may now call the Pope, the new Frankish kings gained the dominion of western Europe. They assisted the Pope by subduing the unruly Lombards in Italy and conquered a large part of modern Germany, besides northern Spain. Charlemagne, the grandson of Charles Martel, ruled an empire consisting of western Germany, France, Italy, and northern Spain. He was the most powerful European sovereign of his time, and in 800 A.D. he was crowned by the Pope at Rome as Roman emperor, theoretically supposed to succeed the line of emperors headed by Augustus. The emperor Charlemagne was an enlightened ruler who desired to do all that he could for the education and well-being of his people. The civilization which he tried to spread, although it was very limited, was what was left of old Roman life and organization, which had been preserved largely through the influence of the Church.

776. Church gains literary culture; preservation of Latin literature by the Church

The Church had been founded in the beginning chiefly among the lowly and the ignorant (§ 706). It had originally been without higher Greek civilization, learning, and art. Gradually it gained also these things, as men like Augustine arose. It is chiefly to the libraries of the monks in the monasteries, and to their practice of copying ancient literary works, that we owe the preservation of such Latin literature as has survived. To-day our oldest and most important copies of such things as Virgil's Æneid (§ 655) are manuscripts written on parchment, preserved in the libraries of the Christian monks.

777. The basilica church and its oriental ancestor

Art was slow to rise among early Christians, and for a thousand years or more there were no Christian painters or sculptors to be compared with those of Greece. On the other hand, the need for places of assembly led to the rise of great



Earliest clerestory hall, at Gizeh, Egypt (twenty-ninth century B.C.)

Clerestory hall at Karnak, Egypt (1300 B.C.)

Basilica hall on the island of Delos, built by the Greeks (third century B.C.)

Basilica of Julius Cæsar at Rome (first century B.C.)

Christian basilica church (fourth century A.D.)

FIG. 123. THE BASILICA CHURCH AND ITS ORIENTAL ANCESTORS

A central aisle with roof windows (*A*) in the side walls, forming a clerestory and occupying the difference in level between the higher roof over the central aisle (nave) and the lower roof over the side aisles, with a resulting division of the building into three aisles — this arrangement is the chief characteristic of the basilica cathedral. We find the earliest hint of such an arrangement at the Pyramids of Gizeh (Frontispiece), shown in cross section above (*1*). Its clerestory windows (*A A*), built in the twenty-ninth century B.C., were mere light chutes. In the course of fifteen hundred years these light chutes were developed by the Egyptian architects into tall stately clerestory windows, at Karnak (*2*, *A A*). In the Hellenistic Age the Greeks adopted the form and combined it with their sloping roofs, as shown here in a business hall excavated by the French on the island of Delos (*3*, *A A*). It was the Greeks who gave this form of hall its name "basilica" (§ 464). In Rome it was in use in the second century B.C. in the Forum (Fig. 111, *D*), and we have put in the above series (*4*) the great Basilica of Julius Cæsar (Fig. 111, *E*). Finally, these business basilica halls of the Greeks and Romans influenced the early Christian architects to adopt a similar form for their churches (*5*). We thus have an architectural development of some thirty-four hundred years leading from the early Orient, nearly 3000 B.C., to the Christian churches of the fourth century A.D.

FIG. 124. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH SPIRE AND ITS ORIENTAL ANCESTRY

The tower as an architectural form first appeared alongside the early Babylonian temples (probably not long after 3000 B.C.) (§ 104). It was adopted by the Assyrians (Fig. 43, *f*), and its earliest form in Assyria has been reconstructed from recent excavations at Assur, as shown above (*1*). A very noticeable example of the continuation of the form still standing is the minaret of one of the old mosques of Cairo (*2*), built by Ibn Tulun in the ninth century A.D. Here it still retained the outside ascent winding about the square tower. Above the tower the top of the building was formed of round sections. This addition was in imitation of the ancient Pharos lighthouse tower of Alexandria (Fig. 95), in which the square tower was surmounted by a six-sided section, upon which was built a round section as the final top of the tower (*3*). This arrangement of three sections (square below, six-sided in the middle, and round at the top) was continued in many of the Moslem mosque towers (minarets), like the one above, in the Nile Delta (*4*). The Moslem minarets themselves were greatly influenced by the early church towers in the East, especially in Syria. Many a church spire of Europe, with its six-sided section in the middle, the square section below, and the round above, show clearly their oriental origin, as in the example above (*5*), the spire of the church of St. John at Parma, Italy. Here again, as in the clerestory (Fig. 123), we have an architectural development from the Orient to the West, beginning nearly 3000 B.C. and covering from three to four thousand years

architects among the early Christians. Influenced chiefly by the old business basilica, they devised noble and impressive assembly rooms for the early congregations in the days of Constantine. We still call such a church a basilica, to indicate its form. In the basilica churches we find the outcome of that long architectural development of thirty-five hundred years, from the earliest known clerestory at the Pyramids of Gizeh to the Christian cathedral (Fig. 123).

778. The church tower and its oriental ancestor

The church tower also, at first not a part of the church building, was a descendant of the old Babylonian temple tower (Fig. 124). Thus the faith of Jesus, an oriental teacher, was sheltered in beautiful buildings which likewise showed their oriental ancestry. These Christian buildings, the church and its tower, like the faith they sheltered, are a striking example of how the world of later Europe reached back into that early Orient with which we began the story of civilization, when Europe was still in the Stone Age. And that ancient Orient, whose civilization thus survived in the life of Europe, was yet to rise once more, to dominate the Mediterranean as it had so often done before. To this final revival of the Orient we must now turn.

Section 79. The Final Revival of the Orient and the Forerunners of the Nations of Modern Europe

779. The decline of the Eastern Empire after Justinian

Justinian, whose reign covered the middle years of the sixth century A.D., was, as we have already said, the last great ruler of the Eastern Empire. His endeavors to reunite the Empire and to adorn his capital both proved very disastrous. He spent the strength of his Empire in trying to regain the West, when he needed all his resources to defend himself against the New Persians, who assailed the eastern frontier in war after war. His great buildings, especially the magnificent church of Saint Sophia (headpiece, p. 366), required so much money that his

treasury was emptied and the government was bankrupt. From the mistakes of Justinian the Eastern Empire never recovered, and at his death it entered upon an age of steady decline.

780. Invasion of the Slavs; Eastern Empire no longer Roman

Meantime a new invasion of barbarians was bringing in the Slavs, a non-German group of Indo-European peoples. They poured into the Balkan Peninsula to the gates of Constantinople and even down into Greece. They were soon holding the territory in these regions which they still occupy. Under these circumstances the Eastern Empire at Constantinople, although it was without interruption the direct descendant of the Roman Empire, was no longer Roman, any more than was the Empire of Charlemagne in the West. The Eastern Empire became what it was in population and civilization, a mixed Greek-Slavic-Oriental State.

781. Mohammed (570–632 A.D.) and the founding of Islam

Moreover, a vast section of the Eastern emperor's dominions lay in the Orient. Of these eastern dominions a large part was now about to be invaded and seized by a great Semitic migration like those which we have repeatedly seen as the nomads of the Arabian desert were led by Sargon or the rulers of Hammurapi's line into Babylonia; or as the Hebrews swept in from the desert and seized the towns of Palestine (§§ 92, 107, 109, 169). The last and the greatest movement of the Semitic barbarians was now about to take place. Not long after the death of Justinian, there was born in Mecca (Fig. 125) in Arabia a remarkably gifted lad named Mohammed. As he grew up he believed, like so many Semitic teachers, that a commanding voice spoke within him as he wandered in the wilderness. This voice within him brought him messages which he felt compelled to communicate to his people as teachings from God, whom he called Allah. After much persecution and great danger to his life, he gathered a group of faithful followers about him, and when he died, in 632 A.D., he had established a new religion among the Arabs, which he had called Islam, meaning "reconciliation"; that is, reconciliation to Allah, the sole God. The new believers he had called Muslims, or, as we spell it,

Moslems, meaning "the reconciled." By us they are often called Mohammedans, after their prophet. After Mohammed's death the Moslem leaders gathered together his teachings, till

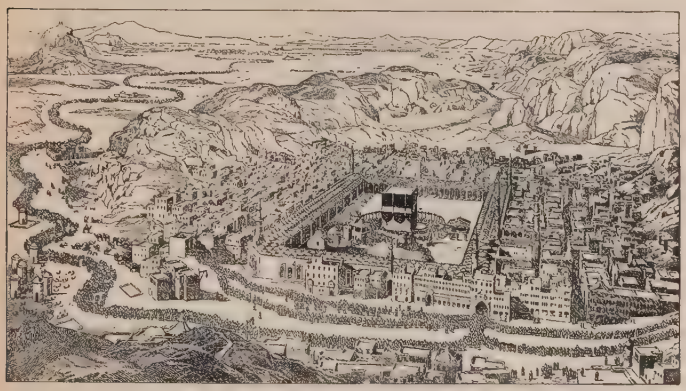


FIG. 125. A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF MECCA AND ITS MOSQUE

Mecca is one of the few towns in the barren Arabian peninsula; for by far the great majority of the Arabs live as roving shepherds (§ 91) and not in towns. Mecca had been a sacred place long before the time of Mohammed, and the people had been accustomed to come there as pilgrims, to do homage to a sacred black stone called the Kaaba. Mohammed did not interfere with these customs. After his death the Moslems built a large court modeled on a colonnaded Greek market place (Fig. 94, *M*), around the Kaaba. Such a structure was the simplest form of a mosque. Over the Kaaba they erected a square shelter, which we see in the middle of the mosque court. To this place the Moslem believers still come in great numbers as pilgrims every year. Our sketch shows an exaggerated representation of the procession of pilgrims. In his later years Mohammed lived at Medina, over 200 miles north of Mecca, and the pilgrims also visit his tomb there

then uncollected, and copied them to form a book called the Koran (Fig. 126), now the Bible of the Moslems.

782. Rise of the oriental Empire of the Moslems

The Moslem leaders who inherited Mohammed's power were called caliphs, a word meaning "substitute." As rulers, they proved to be men of the greatest ability. They organized the untamed desert nomads, who now added a burning religious

zeal to the wild courage of barbarian Arabs. This combination made the Arab armies of the caliphs irresistible. Within a few years after Mohammed's death they took Egypt and Syria from the feeble successors of Justinian at Constantinople. They thus reduced the Eastern Empire to little more than the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor. At the same time the Arabs crushed the empire of the New Persians and brought the Sassanian line of kings to an end (640 A.D.), after it had lasted a little over four hundred years. Thus the Moslems built up a great oriental empire, with its center at the east end of the Fertile Crescent.

FIG. 126. A PAGE OF A MANUSCRIPT COPY OF THE KORAN, THE BIBLE OF THE MOSLEMS

This writing has descended from the ancient alphabet of the Phœnicians (§ 228), and, like the Phœnician writing, it is still written and read from right to left. The Arab writers love to give it decorative flourishes, producing a handsome page. The rich, decorative border is a good example of Moslem art. The whole page was done by hand. In such hand-written books as these the educated Moslems wrote out translations of the books of the great Greek philosophers and scientists, like Aristotle; for example, one of the most valuable of the books of Ptolemy, the Greek astronomer (§ 696), we now possess only in an Arabic translation. At the same time the Moslems wrote their own treatises on algebra, astronomy, grammar, and other sciences (§ 785) in similar books to which the West owes much

783. The nomad Arabs learn city civilization along the Fertile Crescent

Just as the people of Sargon and Hammurapi took over the city civilization which they found along the lower

THE MOHAMMEDAN CONQUESTS AT THEIR GREATEST EXTENT, ABOUT THE YEAR 750 (INDICATED BY OBLIQUE SHADING, UNBROKEN LINES)

Euphrates (§ 108), so now in the same region the Moslem Arabs of the desert took over the city civilization of the New Persians. With the ruins of Babylon looking down upon them, the Moslems built their splendid capital at Bagdad beside the New Persian royal residence of Ctesiphon (headpiece, p. 352). They built of course under the influence of the ancient structures of Egypt, Babylon, Persia, and Assyria. The Babylonian temple towers or Christian-church towers of similar character showed them the first models of the minarets (Fig. 124, *2*) with which they adorned their mosques, as the Moslem houses of prayer are called. Here, as Sargon's people and as the Persians had so long before done, the once wandering Arabs learned to read and write, and could thus put the Koran into writing. Here too they learned the business of government and became experienced rulers. Thus beside the shapeless mounds of the older

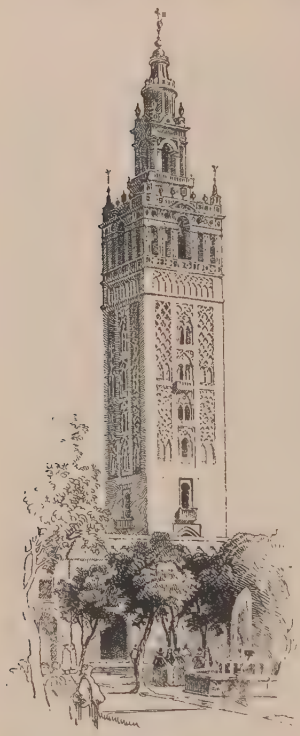


FIG. 127. MOORISH MOSQUE TOWER, OR MINARET, IN SPAIN

It was built, not long before 1200 A.D., out of the ruins of Roman and West Gothic buildings found here by the Moors, and blocks bearing Latin inscriptions are to be seen in a number of places in its walls. The Moors erected it as the minaret of their finest mosque at Seville, Spain. After extensive alterations at the top by Christian architects, it was converted into the bell tower of a Christian church. While the Christian-church towers in the Orient strongly influenced the Moslem minarets, we see how the reverse was the case in some buildings of the West where Moslem minarets became church spires

capitals, Akkad, Babylon, and Ctesiphon, the power and civilization of the Orient rose into new life again for the last time.

784. Caliphs of Bagdad and the Moslem advance to the West; the battle of Tours (732 A.D.)

Bagdad became the finest city of the East and one of the most splendid in the world. The caliphs extended their power eastward to the frontiers of India. Westward the Moslems pushed along the African coast of the Mediterranean, as their Phœnician kindred had done before them (§ 227). It was the Moslem overthrow of Carthage and its bishop, which now relieved the bishop of Rome (the Pope) of his only dangerous rival in the West. Only two generations after the death of Mohammed the Arabs crossed over from Africa into Spain (711 A.D.). As they moved on into France they threatened to girdle the entire Mediterranean. At the battle of Tours (732 A.D.), however, just a hundred years after the death of Mohammed, the Moslems were unable to crush the Frankish army under Charles Martel (§ 774). They withdrew permanently from France into Spain, where they established a western Moslem kingdom, which we call Moorish. The magnificent buildings which it left behind are the most splendid in Spain to-day (Fig. 127).

785. Leadership of Moslem civilization

The Moorish kingdom developed a civilization far higher than that of the Franks, and indeed the highest in Europe of that age. Thus while Europe was sinking into the ignorance of the Middle Ages, the Moslems were the leading students of science, astronomy, mathematics, and grammar. There was soon much greater knowledge of these matters among the Moslems than in Christian Europe. Such Arabic words as *algebra* and our numerals, which we received from the Arabs, suggest to us how much we owe to them.

786. Emergence of the forerunners of the nations of modern Europe

As we look out over this final world situation, we see lying in the middle the remnant of the Roman Empire ruled by Constantinople, and holding little more than the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor; while on one side was the lost West, made up of the German kingdoms of the former Northern barbarians; and on the other side was the lost East, now part

of the great oriental empire of the caliphs of Bagdad. Looking at Europe without the East, we discover that there was at its western end a *Moslem* oriental kingdom (the Moors), while at its eastern end there was a *Christian* oriental state (Constantinople). Between these lay chiefly the German Empire of Charlemagne, with vast masses of Slavs on the east of it, and detached German peoples in the outlying island of Britain. Out of these fragments of the Roman Empire and the newly formed nations of the North, the nations of modern Europe came forth. In France, and the two southern peninsulas of Spain and Italy, Latin speech survived among the people, to become French, Spanish, and Italian. While in the island of Britain the German language spoken by the invading Angles and Saxons (§ 759), mingled with much Latin and French to form our own English speech, written with Roman letters inherited from Greece, Phœnicia, and Egypt (§§ 33, 228).

787. Surviving influences of Rome in later Europe

Thus Rome left her stamp on the peoples of Europe, still evident, not only in the languages they use, but also in many other important matters of life, and especially in law and government. In Roman law, still a power in modern government, we have the great creation of Roman genius, which has more profoundly affected the later world than any other Roman institution. Another great achievement of Rome was the universal spread of that international civilization brought forth by Greece under contact with the Orient. Rome gave to that civilization the far-reaching organization which under the Greeks it had lacked. That organization, though completely transformed into oriental despotism, endured for five centuries and long withstood the barbarian invasions from the North, which would otherwise have overwhelmed the disorganized Greek world long before. The Roman State was the last bulwark of civilization intrenched on the Mediterranean against the Indo-European barbarians. But the bulwark, though shaken, did not fall because of hostile assaults from without. It fell because of decay within.

Nor did it fall everywhere. For, as we have seen, a fragment of the vast Empire still survived in the East. The emperors ruling at Constantinople traced their predecessors back in an unbroken line to Augustus, and they ruled as his successors. Founded on the site of an ancient Greek city, lying in the midst of the Greek East, Constantinople had always been Greek in both language and civilization. But at the same time, as we have seen, it was largely oriental also. Notwithstanding this, it never wholly lost the tradition of old Greek culture. Learning, even though of a mechanical type, never died out there, as it did so completely in the West; nor did art ever fall so low. As Rome declined, Constantinople became the greatest and most splendid city of Europe, exciting the admiration and surprise of all visitors from the less civilized West. Thus the last surviving fragment of the Empire, which by right of succession might still continue to call itself Roman, lived on for a thousand years after the Germans had completely conquered the West. Nor did the Germans ever gain Constantinople, but in 1453 this last remnant of the Roman Empire fell into the hands of the Turks, who have held it ever since.

788. Survival of a fragment of the Empire at Constantinople, and its fall in 1453 A.D.

Section 80. Retrospect

Besides the internal decay of Rome and the triumph of the Christian Church, the other great outstanding feature of the last centuries of the Roman Empire was the incoming of the barbarians, with the result that while Mediterranean civilization steadily declined, it nevertheless slowly spread northward, especially under the influence of the Church, till it transformed the ruder life of the North. At this point then we have returned to the region of western and northern Europe, where we first took up the career of man, and there, among the crumbling monuments of the Stone Age, Christian churches now began to rise. Books and civilized government, once found only along the Mediterranean, reached the northern shores of Europe, where

789. From the fist-hatchet to the Christian civilization of northern Europe in fifty thousand years

deep accumulations of earth bearing great forest trees covered the remains of the Stone Age Norsemen. What a vast sweep of the human career rises before our imagination as we picture the first church spires among the massive tombs of Stone Age man (Fig. 8)!

790. The long struggle of civilization and barbarism

We have watched the men of Europe struggling upward through thousands of years of Stone Age barbarism, while toward the end of that struggle, civilization was arising in the Orient. Then on the borders of the Orient we saw the Stone Age Europeans of the Ægean receiving civilization from the Nile and thus developing a wonderful civilized world of their own. This remarkable Ægean civilization, the earliest in Europe, was overwhelmed and destroyed by the incoming of those Indo-European barbarians whom we call the Greeks (§ 215). Writing, art, architecture, and shipbuilding, which had arisen on the borders of southeastern Europe, passed away, and civilization in Europe perished at the hands of the Greek nomads from the Danube. Civilization would have been lost entirely, had not the Orient, where it was born, now preserved it. Southeastern Europe, controlled by the Greeks, was therefore able to make another start, and from the Orient it again received writing, art, architecture, shipbuilding, and many other things which make up civilization. After having thus halted civilization in Europe for over a thousand years, the Greeks left behind their early barbarism (see § 225), and, developing a noble and beautiful culture of their own, they carried civilization to the highest level it ever attained. Then, as the Indo-European barbarians from the North again descended to the Mediterranean (Section 77), Roman organization prevented civilization from being destroyed for the second time. Thus enough of the civilization which the Orient and the Greeks had built up was preserved, so that after long delay it rose again in Europe to become what we find it to-day. Such has been the long struggle of civilization and barbarism which we have been following.

791. The trail which we have followed to recover ancient history

To-day, marking the various stages of that long career, the stone fist-hatchets lie deep in the river gravels of France; the furniture of the pile-villages sleeps at the bottom of the Swiss lakes; the majestic pyramids and temples announcing the dawn of civilization rise along the Nile; the silent and deserted city-mounds by the Tigris and Euphrates shelter their myriads of clay tablets; the palaces of Crete look out toward the sea they once ruled; the noble temples and sculptures of Greece still proclaim the new world of beauty and freedom first revealed by the Greeks; the splendid Roman roads and aqueducts assert the supremacy and organized control of Rome; and the Christian churches proclaim the new ideal of human brotherhood. These things still reveal the fascinating trail along which our ancestors came, and in following that trail we have recovered the earliest chapters in the wonderful human story which we call Ancient History.

QUESTIONS

SECTION 77. Describe the German peoples at home; in migration and war. Describe the incoming of the West Goths and the results. What chief movements of the barbarians took place after the death of Theodosius? What was the effect upon the Western Empire? Describe the two great barbarian invasions of Italy in the middle of the fifth century A.D. and the end of the line of emperors at Rome. Describe Justinian's Digest. What had happened to the old religions? What did Justinian do about Greek philosophy? Describe the division of the Church.

SECTION 78. Tell about Augustine and his writings. Describe the growing power of the Church at Rome. Sketch the story of the Franks and their alliance with the bishop of Rome. What elements of culture had the church now gained? What forms did early church architecture have, and whence did they come?

SECTION 79. Tell the story of Mohammed. What did his successors accomplish in civilization? in conquest? Describe briefly the world situation which resulted. How long did the Roman Empire last? What influences did it leave behind?

SECTION 80. Where did mankind first gain civilization? Where did civilization first arise in Europe? What happened when the Greeks came in? Where was civilization then preserved? Who carried it to its highest level? By whom was it almost destroyed for the second time? What organization saved it for the second time?

NOTE. The scene below shows us the condition of Europe at least fifty thousand years ago, in the Early Stone Age (§§ 6–8), when man began the long upward climb which carried him through all the ages of developing and declining civilization which we have been following.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

It is not the aim of this bibliography to mention all of even the important books in various languages that relate to the periods in question. The writer is well aware that teachers are busy people, and that high-school libraries and local public libraries usually furnish at best only a few historical works. It is therefore most important that those books should be given prominence in this list which the teacher has some chance of procuring and finding the time to use. It not infrequently happens that the best account of a particular period or topic is in a foreign language or in a rare publication, such as a doctor's dissertation, which could only be found in one of our largest libraries. All such titles, however valuable, are omitted from this list. They can be found mentioned in all the more scholarly works in the various fields.

A small high-school library on the ancient world, of moderate cost, including a standard book or two on each main period or topic, has been indicated in the following list by a dagger (†) before each title. From these a selection can be made. The price will probably *average* not more than $1.50 per volume. Preference is sometimes indicated by double dagger (††). All books with a star (*) are suited chiefly for the teacher and are rather advanced for the high-school student. Where a book is referred to often, the star or dagger usually appears only with the first mention.

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C. Wall maps and geography

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